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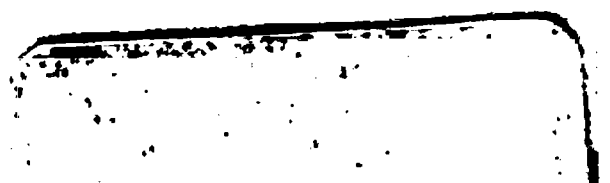
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Ralegh

THE
HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

IN FIVE BOOKS.

VIZ.

TREATING OF THE BEGINNING AND FIRST AGES
OF THE SAME FROM THE CREATION UNTO
ABRAHAM.

OF THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM TO THE DESTROC-
TION OF THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM TO THE
TIME OF PHILIP OF MACEDON.

FROM THE REIGN OF PHILIP OF MACEDON TO
THE ESTABLISHING OF THAT KINGDOM IN
THE RACE OF ANTIGONUS.

FROM THE SETTLED RULE OF ALEXANDER'S
SUCCESSORS IN THE EAST UNTIL THE ROMANS
(PREVAILING OVER ALL) MADE CONQUEST OF
ASIA AND MACEDON.

BY

SIR WALTER RALEGH, KNIGHT.

A NEW EDITION, REVISED AND CORRECTED.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

SIR W. RALEGH'S
VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY TO GUIANA.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

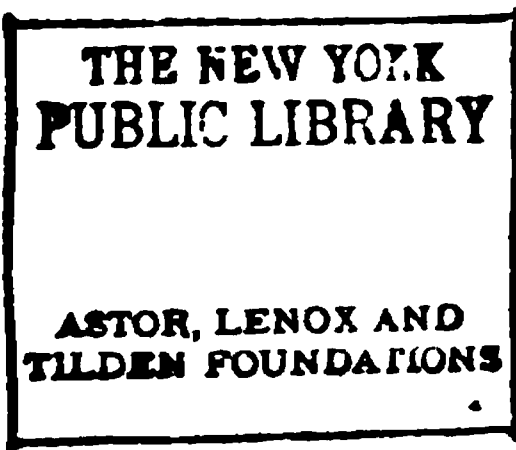
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THE
HISTORY
OF
THE WORLD,
IN FIVE BOOKS.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

CHAP. IV.

OF PHILIP, THE FATHER OF PERSEUS, KING OF MACEDON ; HIS FIRST ACTS, AND WAR WITH THE ROMANS, BY WHOM HE WAS SUBDUED.

SECT. V.

Of Philopœmen, general of the Achæans, and Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedæmon. A battle between them, wherein Machanidas is slain.

IT happens often, that the decease of one eminent man discovers the virtue of another. In the place of Arratus, there stood up Philopœmen, whose notable valour, and great skill in arms, made the nation of the Achæans redoubtable among all the Greeks, and careless of such protection, as in for-

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▲

mer times they had needed against the violence of their neighbours. This is that Philopœmen, who, being then a young man, and having no command, did especial service to Antigonus at the battle of Selasia, against Cleomenes. Thenceforward, until now, he had spent the most part of his time in the isle of Crete; the inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and seldom or never at peace between themselves, he bettered among them his knowledge and practice in the art of war. At his return home he had charge of the horse, wherein he carried himself so strictly, travelling with all the cities of the confederacy, to have his followers well mounted and armed at all pieces, as also he so diligently trained them up in all exercise of service, that he made the Achæans very strong in that part of their forces. Being afterwards chosen prætor, or general of the nation, he had no less care to reform their military discipline throughout, whereby his country might be strong enough to defend itself, and not any longer, (as in former times,) need to depend upon the help of others. He persuaded the Achæans to cut off their vain expense of bravery in apparel, household-stuff, and curious fare, and to bestow that cost upon their arms; wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by so much were they like to prove the better soldiers, and suitable in behaviour unto the pride of their furniture. They had served hitherto with little light bucklers, and slender darts to cast afar off, that were useful at skirmishing at some distance, or for surprises, or sudden and hasty expeditions, whereto Arratus had been most accustomed. But when they came to handy-strokes, they were good for nothing; so as they were wholly driven to rely upon the courage of their mercenaries. Philopœmen altered this, causing them to arm themselves more weightily; to use a larger kind of shield, with good swords and strong pikes, fit for service at hand. He taught them also to fight in close order, and altered

the form of their embatteling ; not making the files so deep as had been accustomed, but extending the front, that he might use the service of many hands.

Eight months were spent of that year in which he first was prætor of the Achæans, when Machanidas, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, caused him to make trial how his soldiers had profited by his discipline. This Machanidas was the successor unto Lycurgus, a man more violent than his foregoer. He kept in pay a strong army of mercenaries ; and he kept them not only to fight for Sparta, but to hold the city in obedience to himself perforce. Wherefore it behoved him not to take part with the Achæans, that were favourers of liberty ; but to strengthen himself by friendship of the Ætolians ; who, in making alliances, took no further notice of vice or virtue, than as it had reference to their own profit. The people also of Lacedæmon, through their inveterate hatred unto the Argives, Achæans, and Macedonians, were in like sort (all, or most of them) inclinable to the Ætolian faction. Very unwisely ; for in seeking to take revenge upon those that had lately hindered them from getting the lordship of Peloponnesus, they hindered themselves thereby from recovering the mastery of their own city. This affection of the Spartans, together with the regard of his own security, and no small hope of good that would follow, suffered not Machanidas to be idle ; but always made him ready to fall upon his neighbours backs, and take of theirs what he could, whilst they were enforced, by greater necessity, to turn face another way. Thus had he often done, especially in the absence of Philip, whose sudden coming into those parts, or some other opposition made against him, had usually made him fail of his attempts. At the present he was stronger in men than were the Achæans, and thought his own men better soldiers than were theirs.

Whilst Philip therefore was busied elsewhere, he entered the country of the Mantineans, being not without hope to do as Cleomenes had done before him ; yea, and perhaps to get the lordship of Peloponnesus, as having stronger friends, and weaker opposition than Cleomenes had found¹. But Philopoemen was ready to entertain him at Mantinæa, where was fought between them a great battle. The tyrant had brought into the field, upon carts, a great many engines, wherewith to beat upon the squadrons of his enemies, and put them into disorder. To prevent this danger, Philopoemen sent forth his light armature a good way before him ; so as Machanidas was fain to do the like. To second these, from the one and the other side, came in continual supply, till at length all the mercenaries, both of the Achæans and of Machanidas were drawn up to the fight ; being so far advanced each before their own phalanx, that it could no otherwise be discerned which pressed forward, or which recoiled, than by the rising of the dust. Thus were Machanidas's engines made unserviceable by the interposition of his own men ; in such manner as the cannon is hindered from doing execution in most of the battles fought in these our times. The mercenaries of the tyrant prevailed at length, not only by their advantage of number, but (as Polybius well observeth) by surmounting their opposites in degree of courage, wherein usually the hired soldiers of tyrants exceed those that are waged by free states². For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant than they which live oppressed by tyranny ; since the one, by doing their best in fight, have hope to acquire somewhat beneficial to themselves ; whereas the other do fight (as it were) to assure their own servitude ; so the mercenaries of a tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruits of his prosperity, have good

¹ Excerpt. è Polyb. l. xi. Plut. invita Philopœm. ² Polyb. ibid.

cause to maintain his quarrel as their own ; whereas they that serve under a free state, have no other motive to do manfully than their bare stipend. Further than this, when a free state hath gotten the victory, many companies (if not all) of foreign auxiliaries are presently cast ; and therefore such good fellows will not take much pains to bring the war to an end. But the victory of a tyrant makes him stand in need of more helpers ; because that after it he doth wrong to more, as having more subjects, and therefore stands in fear of more that should seek to take revenge upon him. The stipendiaries therefore of the Achæans, being forced to give ground, were urged so violently in their retreat by those of Machanidas, that shortly they betook themselves to flight, and could not be stayed by any persuasions of Philopœmen, but ran away quite beyond the battle of the Achæans. This disaster had been sufficient to take from Philopœmen the honour of the day, had he not wisely observed the demeanor of Machanidas, and found in him that error which might restore the victory. The tyrant, with his mercenaries, gave chace unto those that fled ; leaving behind him in good order of battle his Lacedæmonians, whom he thought sufficient to deal with the Achæans that were already disheartened by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashness had carried him out of sight, Philopœmen advanced towards the Lacedæmonians that stood before him. There lay between them athwart the country, a long ditch, without water at that time ; and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficulty, especially for foot. The Lacedæmonians adventured over it, as thinking themselves better soldiers than the Achæans, who had in a manner already lost the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their own battle ; and no sooner had the foremost of them recovered the further bank, than they were stoutly charged by the Achæans, who

drove them headlong into the ditch again. The first ranks being broken, all the rest began to shrink; so as Philopœmen getting over the ditch, easily chased them out of the field. Philopœmen knew better how to use his advantage than Machanidas had done. He suffered not all his army to disband and follow the chace; but retained with him a sufficient strength for the custody of a bridge that was over the ditch, by which he knew that the tyrant must come back. The tyrant with his mercenaries returning from the chace, looked very heavily when he saw what was fallen out. Yet, with a lusty troop of horse about him, he made towards the bridge; hoping to find the Achæans in disorder, and to set upon their backs, as they were carelessly pursuing their victory. But when he and his company saw Philopœmen ready to make good the bridge against them; then began every one to look which way he might shift for himself. The tyrant, with no more than two in his company, rode along the ditch-side; and searched for an easy passage over. He was easily discovered by his purple cassock, and the costly trappings of his horse. Philopœmen therefore leaving the charge of the bridge unto another, coasted him all the way that he rode; and falling upon him at length in the ditch itself, as he was getting over it, slew him there with his own hand. There died in this battle on the Lacedæmonian side about four thousand; and more than four thousand were taken prisoners. Of the Achæan mercenaries, probable it is that the loss was not greatly cared for, since that war was at an end; and for their money they might hire more when they should have need.

SECT. VI.

Philip having peace with Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Asia. Of the kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and their lineages. Of the Galatians.

By this victory the Achæans learned to think well of themselves. Neither needed they indeed, after a while, (such was their discipline, and continual exercise,) to account themselves in manner of war inferior to any that should have brought against them no great odds of number. As for the Macedonian, he made no great use of them. But when he had once concluded peace with the Romans and Ætoli-ans, he studied how to enlarge his dominions eastward; since the fortune of his friends, the Carthaginians, declined in the west. He took in hand many matters together, or very nearly together, and some of them not honest: wherein if the Achæans would have done him service, they must, by helping him to oppress others that never had wronged him, have taught him the way how to deal with themselves. He greatly hated Attalus king of Pergamus, who had joined with the Romans and Ætolians against him.

This Attalus, though a king, was scarce yet a nobleman, otherwise than as he was ennobled by his own and by his father's virtue. His fortune began in Philetærus his uncle; who being gelded, by reason of a mishap which he had when he was a child, grew afterwards thereby to be more esteemed; as great men in those times reposed much confidence in eunuchs, whose affections could not be obliged unto wives or children. He was entertained into the family of Docimus, a captain following Antigonus the first; and after the death of Antigonus, he

accompanied his master, that betook himself to Lysimachus king of Thrace. Lysimachus had good opinion of him ; and put him in trust with his money and accounts. But when at length he stood in fear of this king, that grew a bloody tyrant, he fled into Asia, where he seized upon the town of Pergamus, and nine thousand talents belonging to Lysimachus. The town and money, together with his own service, he offered unto Seleucus the first, that then was ready to give Lysimachus battle. His offer was kindly accepted, but never performed ; for that Seleucus, having slain Lysimachus, died shortly after himself, before he made use of Philetærus or his money. So this eunuch still retained Pergamus, with the country about it ; and reigned therein twenty years as an absolute king. He had two brethren ; of which the elder is said to have been a poor carter, and the younger perhaps was not much better, before such time as they were raised by the fortune of this eunuch. Philetærus left the kingdom to the elder of these, or to the son of the elder, called Eumenes. This Eumenes enlarged his kingdom ; making his advantage of the dissension between Seleucus Callinicus and Antiochus Hierax, the sons of the second Antiochus. He fought a battle with Hierax, near unto Sardes ; and won the victory. At which time, to animate his men against the Gauls that served under his enemy, he used a pretty device. He wrote the word *Victory* upon the hand of his soothsayer¹, in such colours as would easily come off : and when the hot liver of the beast that was sacrificed, had cleanly taken the print of the letters, he published this unto his army as a miracle, plainly foreshewing that the gods would be assistant in that battle.

¹ Jul. Front. *Str.* l. i. c. 11.

After this victory, he grew a dreadful enemy to Seleucus; who never durst attempt to recover from him, by war, the territory that he had gotten and held. Finally, when he had reigned two and twenty years, he died by a surfeit of over much drink; and left his kingdom to Attalus, of whom we now entreat, that was son unto Attalus the youngest brother of Philetærus. Attalus was an undertaking prince, very bountiful, and no less valiant. By his own proper forces he restored his friend Ariarathes the Capadocian into his kingdom, whence he had been expelled. He was grievously molested by Achæus; who setting up himself as king, against Antiochus the Great, reigned in the Lesser Asia. He was besieged in his own city of Pergamus: but by the help of the Tectosagæ, a nation of the Gauls, whom he called over out of Thrace, he recovered all that he had lost. When these Gauls had once gotten footing in Asia, they never wanted employment; but were either entertained by some of the princes reigning in those quarters, or interposed themselves without invitation, and found themselves work in quarrels of their own making. They caused Prusias king of Bithynia to cease from his war against Byzantium. Whereunto when he had condescended, they nevertheless in a while after invaded his kingdom. He obtained against them a great victory, and used it with great cruelty, sparing neither age nor sex. But the swarm of them increasing, they occupied the region about Hellespont; where, in seating themselves, they were much beholden unto Attalus. Nevertheless, presuming afterwards upon their strength, they forced their neighbour princes and cities to pay them tribute: in the sharp exaction whereof, they had no more respect unto Attalus than to any that had worse deserved of them. By this they compelled him to fight against them; and he being victorious, compelled them to contain themselves within the bounds of that province, which

took name from them in time following, and was called Galatia. Yet continued they still to oppress the weakest of their neighbours ; and to fill up the armies of those that could best hire them.

The kings reigning in those parts, were the posterity of such as had saved themselves and their provinces, in the slothful reign of the Persians, or in the busy times of Alexander and his Macedonian followers. The Cappadocians were very ancient. For the first of them had married with Atossa, sister unto the great king Cyrus. Their country was taken from them by Perdiccas, as is shewed before. But the son of that king, whom Perdiccas crucified, espying his time while the Macedonians were at civil wars among themselves, recovered his dominion, and passed it over to his offspring. The kings of Pontus had also their beginning from the Persian empire ; and are said to have issued from the royal house of Achæmenes. The Paphlagonians derived themselves from Pylæmenes, a king that assisted Priamus at the war of Troy. These, applying themselves unto the times, were always conformable unto the strongest. The ancestors of Prusias had begun to reign in Bithynia, some few generations before that of the Great Alexander. They lay somewhat out of the Macedonian's way ; by whom therefore, having other employment, they were the less molested. Calantus, one of Alexander's captains, made an expedition into their country ; where he was vanquished. They had afterwards to do with a lieutenant of Antigonus, that made them somewhat more humble. And thus they shuffled, as did the rest, until the reign of Prusias, whom we have already sometimes mentioned.

SECT. VII.

The town of Cios taken by Philip, at the instance of Prusias king of Bithynia, and cruelly destroyed. By this and like actions, Philip grows hateful to many of the Greeks ; and is warred upon by Attalus king of Pergamus, and by the Rhodians.

PRUSIAS, as a neighbour king, had many quarrels with Attalus; whose greatness he suspected. He therefore strengthened himself by taking to wife the daughter of Philip ; as Attalus, on the contrary side, entered into a strict confederacy with the Ætolians, Rhodians, and other of the Greeks. But when Philip had ended his Ætolian war, and was devising with Antiochus about sharing between them two the kingdom of Egypt, wherein Ptolemy Philopater, a friend unto them both, was newly dead, and had left his son Ptolemy Epiphanes, a young child, his heir ; the Bithynian entreated his father-in-law to come over into Asia, there to win the town of the Ciani, and bestow it upon him. Prusias had no right unto the town, nor just matter of quarrel against it ; but it was fitly seated for him, and therewithal rich. Philip came, as one that could not well deny to help his son-in-law ; but hereby he mightily offended no small part of Greece. Embassadors came to him, whilst he lay at the siege, from the Rhodians, and divers other states, entreating him to forsake the enterprize. He gave dilatory, but otherwise gentle answers, making shew as if he would condescend to their request, when he intended nothing less. At length he got the town ; where, even in presence of the embassadors, of whose solicitation he had seemed so regardful, he omitted no part of cruelty. Hereby he rendered himself odious to his neighbours, as

a perfidious and a cruel prince. Especially his fact was detested of the Rhodians, who had made vehement intercession for the poor Ciani; and were advertised by ambassadors of purpose sent unto them from Philip, that, howsoever it were in his power to win the town as soon as he listed, yet, in regard of his love to the Rhodians, he was contented to give it over. And by this his clemency, the ambassadors said, that he would manifest unto the world what slanderous tongues they were, which noised abroad such reports as went of his falsehood and oppressions. Whilst the ambassadors were declaiming at Rhodes, in the theatre, to this effect, there came some that made a true relation of what had happened; shewing that Philip had sacked and destroyed the town of Cios, and, after a cruel slaughter of the inhabitants, had made slaves of all that escaped the sword. If the Rhodians took this in great despite, no less were the Ætolians inflamed against him, since they had sent a captain to take charge of the town; being warned before by his doings at Lysimachia and Chalcedon, (which he had withdrawn from their confederacy to his own,) what little trust was to be reposed in the faith of this king. But most of all others was Attalus moved with consideration of the Macedonian's violent ambition, and of his own estate. He had much to lose, and was not without hope of getting much, if he could make a strong party in Greece. He had already, as a new king, followed the example of Alexander's captains, in purchasing with much liberality the love of the Athenians, which were notable trumpeters of other men's virtue, having lost their own. On the friendship of the Ætolians he had cause to presume; having bound them unto him by good offices, many and great, in their late war with Philip. The Rhodians, that were mighty at sea, and held very good intelligence with the Egyptians, Syrians, and many other princes and

states, he easily drew into a strait alliance with him, by their hatred newly conceived against Philip.

Upon confidence in these his friends, but most of all in the ready assistance of the Rhodians, Attalus prepared to deal with the Macedonian by open war. It had been unseasonable to procrastinate, and expect whereto the doings of the enemy tended, since his desire to fasten upon Asia was manifest, and his falsehood no less manifest than was such his desire. They met with him shortly not far from Chios, and fought with him a battle at sea, wherein, though Attalus was driven to run his own ship on ground, hardly escaping to land; though the admiral of the Rhodians took his death's wound; and though Philip, after the battle, took harbour under a promontory by which they had fought, so that he had the gathering of the wrecks upon the shore,—yet forasmuch as he had suffered far greater loss of ships and men than had the enemy, and since he durst not in a few days after put forth to sea, when Attalus and the Rhodians came to brave him in his port, the honour of the victory was adjudged to his enemies. This notwithstanding, Philip afterwards besieged, and won some towns in Caria; whether only in a bravery, and to despite his opposites, or whether upon any hopeful desire of conquest, it is uncertain. The stratagem by which he won Prinassus, is worthy of noting. He attempted it by a mine, and finding the earth so stony that it resisted his work, he nevertheless commanded the pioneers to make a noise under ground; and secretly in the night-time he raised a great mount about the entrance of the mine, to breed an opinion in the besieged, that the work went marvellously forward. At length he sent word to the townsmen, that, by his undermining, two acres of their wall stood only upon wooden props; to which, if he gave fire, and entered by a breach, they should expect no mercy. The Prinassians little thought that he had fetched all his earth and rubbish

by night a great way off, to raise up those heaps which they saw, but rather that all had been extracted out of the mine. Wherefore they suffered themselves to be out-faced, and gave up the town as lost, which the enemy had no hope to win by force. But Philip could not stay to settle himself in those parts. Attalus and the Rhodians were too strong for him at sea, and compelled him to make haste back into Macedon, whither they followed him all the way in manner of pursuit.

SECT. VIII.

The Romans, after their Carthaginian war, seek matter of quarrel against Philip. The Athenians upon slight cause proclaim war against Philip, moved thereto by Attalus, whom they flatter. Philip wins divers towns, and makes peremptory answer to the Roman ambassador. The furious resolution of the Abydeni.

THESE Asiatic matters, which no way concerned the Romans, yet served well to make a noise in Rome, and fill the people's heads, if not with a desire of making war in Macedon, at least with a conceit that it were expedient so to do. The Roman senate was perfectly informed of the state of those eastern countries, and knew that there was none other nation than the Greeks, which lay between them and the lordship of Asia. These Greeks were factious, and seldom or never at peace. As for the Macedonian, though length of time, and continual dealings in Greece, ever since the reigns of Philip and Alexander, had left no difference between him and the naturals, yet most of them abhorred his dominion, because he was originally, forsooth, a barbarian; many of them hated him upon ancient quar-

rels; and they that had been most beholden unto him were nevertheless weary of him, by reason of his personal faults. All this gave hope, that the affairs of Greece would not long detain the Roman armies; especially since the divisions of the country were such that every petty estate was apt to take counsel apart for itself, without much regarding the generality. But the poor commonalty of Rome had no great affection to such a chargeable enterprise. They were already quite exhausted by that grievous war with Hannibal, wherein they had given, by loan to the republic, all their money; neither had they as yet received, neither did they receive, until fifteen or sixteen years after this, their whole sum back again. That part of payment also which was already made, being not in present money, but much of it in land, it behoved them to rest a while, and bestow the more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the less able to bestow cost. Wherefore they took no pleasure to hear, that Attalus and the Rhodians had sent ambassadors to solicit them against Philip, with report of his bold attempts in Asia; or that M. Aurelius, their agent in Greece, had sent letters of the same tenor to the senate; and magnified his intelligence, by setting out the preparations of this dangerous enemy, that solicited not only the towns upon the continent, but all the islands in those seas; visiting them in person, or sending ambassadors, as one that meant shortly to hold war with the Romans upon their own ground. Philip had indeed no such intent; neither was he much too strong, either of himself, or by his alliance in Greece, to be resisted by Attalus and the Rhodians, especially with the help of the Ætolians, their good friends, and (in a manner) his own professed enemies. But such things must be published abroad, if only to predispose men unto the war, and give it the more honest colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition, and therefore could not thrive by intermeddling in the affairs of those that were more mighty than himself. He was too unskilful, or otherwise too unapt, to retain his old friends ; yet would he needs be seeking new enemies. And he found them such as he deserved to have them ; for he offered his help to their destruction when they were in misery, and had done him no harm. It behoved him, therefore, either to have strained his forces to the uttermost, in making war upon them, or, in desisting from that injurious course, to have made amends for the wrongs passed, by doing friendly offices of his own accord. But he having broken that league of peace, which is of all other the most natural, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, unless they think themselves justly provoked, was afterwards too fondly persuaded that he might well be secure of the Romans, because of the written covenants of peace between him and them. There is not any form of oath, whereby such articles of peace can be held inviolable, save only *by the water of Styx*¹, that is, by *necessity* ; which, whilst it binds one party, or both, unto performance, making it apparent that he shall be a loser who starts from the conditions ; it may so long (and so long only) be presumed that there shall be no breach. Till Hannibal was vanquished, the Romans never hearkened after Philip ; for necessity made them let him alone. But when once they had peace with Carthage, then was this river of Styx dried up ; and then could they swear, as Mercury² did in the comedy, by their own selves, even by their good swords, that they had good reason to make war upon him. The voyage of Sopater into Africa, and the present war against Attalus, were matter of quarrel as much as needed ; or, if this were not enough, the Athenians helped to furnish them with more.

¹ Sir Francis Bacon de Sap. Veterum.

² Plaut Amphitr.

The Athenians being at this time lords of no more than their own barren territory, took state upon them nevertheless, as in their ancient fortune. Two young gentlemen of Acarnania, entering into the temple of Ceres in the days of initiation, (wherein were delivered the mysteries of religion, or rather of idolatrous superstition, vainly said to have been available unto felicity after this life,) discovered themselves, by some impertinent questions, to be none of those that were initiated. Hereupon they were brought before the officers; and though it was apparent that they came into the place by mere error, not thinking to have therein done amiss, yet, as it had been for some heinous crime, they were put to death. All their countrymen at home took this in ill part, and sought to revenge it as a public injury, by war upon the Athenians. Procuring therefore of Philip some Macedonians to help them, they entered into Attica, who wasted it with fire and sword, and carried thence away with them a great booty. This indignity stirred up the high-minded Athenians, and made them think upon doing more than they had ability to perform. All which at the present they could do, was to send ambassadors to king Attalus, gratulating his happy success against Philip, and intreating him to visit their city. Attalus was hereto the more willing, because he understood that the Roman ambassadors, hovering about Greece for matter of intelligence, had a purpose to be there at the same time. So he went thither, accompanied, besides his own followers, with some of the Rhodians. Landing in the Piræus, he found the Romans there, with whom he had much friendly conference; they rejoicing that he continued enemy to Philip, and he being no less glad when he heard of their purpose to renew the war. The Athenians came forth of their city, all the magistrates, priests, and citizens, with their wives and children, in as solemn a pomp as they could devise, to meet and honour

the king. They entertained the Romans that were with him in very loving manner; but towards Attalus himself they omitted no point of observance which their flattery could suggest. At his first coming into the city, they called the people to assembly; where they desired him to honour them with his presence, and let them hear him speak. But he excused himself, saying, that with an evil grace he should recount unto them those many benefits by which he studied to make them know what love he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit that he should deliver in writing what he would have to be propounded. He did so: The points of his declaration were; first, what he had willingly done for their sake; then what had lately passed between him and Philip; lastly, an exhortation unto them to declare themselves against the Macedonian, whilst he, with the Rhodians and the Romans, were willing and ready to take their part; which if they now refused to do, he protested that afterwards it would be in vain to crave his help. There needed little entreaty, for they were as willing to proclaim the war as he to desire it. As for other matters, they loaded him with immoderate honours, and ordained, that unto the ten tribes, whereof the body of their citizens consisted, should be added another, and called after his name; as if he were in part one of their founders. To the Rhodians they also decreed a crown of gold, in reward of their virtue, and made all the Rhodians free citizens of Athens.

Thus began a great noise of war, wherein little was left unto the Romans for their part; Attalus and the Rhodians taking all upon them. But while these were vainly mispending the time in seeking to draw the Ætolians to their party, that, contrary to their old manner, were glad to be at quiet, Philip won the towns of Maronea and Ænus, with many other strong places about the Hellespont. Likewise passing over the Hellespont, he laid siege unto Aby-

dos, and won it, though he was fain to stay there long. The town held out, rather upon an obstinate resolution, and hope of succour from Attalus and the Rhodians, than any great ability to defend itself against so mighty an enemy. But the Rhodians sent thither only one quadrireme galley, and Attalus no more than three hundred men; far too weak an aid to make good the place. The Roman ambassadors wondered much at this great negligence of them that had taken so much upon them.

These ambassadors, C. Claudius, M. Æmilius, and P. Sempronius, were sent unto Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, to acquaint him with their victory against Hannibal and the Carthaginians; as also to thank him for his favour unto them shewed in that war, and to desire the continuance thereof, if they should need it against Philip. This Egyptian king was now in the third or fourth year of his reign, which (as his father Philopater had done before him) he began a very young boy. The courtesy for which the Romans were to thank him, was, that out of Egypt they had lately been supplied with corn, in a time of extreme dearth, when the miseries of war had made all their own provinces unable to relieve them. This message could not but be welcome to the Egyptian; since it was well known how Philip and Antiochus had combined themselves against him, conspiring to take away his kingdom; and therefore it might in reason be hoped, that he, or his council for him, should offer to supply the Romans with corn, since this their Macedonian expedition concerned his estate no less than theirs.

But as the errand was for the most part complimentary, so had the ambassadors both leisure and direction from the senate to look unto the things of Greece by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that M. Æmilius, the youngest of them, should step aside and visit Philip, to try if he could make him leave the siege of Abydos, which else he was like to car-

rv. Æmilius, coming to Philip, tells him, that his doings are contrary to the league that he had made with the Romans. For Attalus and the Rhodians, upon whom he made war, were confederate with Rome; and the town of Abydos, which he was now besieging, had a kind of dependency upon Attalus. Hereto Philip answered, that Attalus and the Rhodians had made war upon him, and that he did only requite them with the like. ‘Do you also (said Æmilius) requite these poor Abydeni with such a terrible war for any the like invasion by them first made upon you?’ The king was angry to hear himself thus taken short; and therefore he roundly made answer to Æmilius: ‘It is your youth, sir, and your beauty, and (above all) your being a Roman, that makes you thus presumptuous. But I would wish ye to remember the league that ye have made with me, and to keep it; if ye do otherwise, I will make ye understand, that the kingdom and name of Macedon is, in matter of war, no less noble than the Roman.’ So he dismissed the ambassador, and had the town immediately yielded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution to have died every one of them, and to set their town on fire; binding themselves hereto by a fearful oath, when Philip denied to accept them upon reasonable conditions. But having, in desperate fight, once repelling him from the breach, lost the greatest number of their youth, it was thought meet, by the governors and ancients of the city, to change this resolution, and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their gold and silver to Philip; about which, whilst they were busy, the memory of their oath wrought so effectually in the younger sort, that, by exhortation of their priests, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themselves. Hereof the king had so little compassion, that he said he would grant the Abydeni three days leisure to die; and to that end forbade his men

to enter the town, or hazard themselves in interrupting the violence of those mad fools.

SECT. IX.

The Romans decree war against Philip, and send one of their consuls into Greece, as it were in defence of the Athenians, their confederates. How poor the Athenians were at this time both in quality and estate.

THIS calamity of the Abydeni was likened by the Romans unto that of the Saguntines; which indeed it nearly resembled, though Rome was not alike interested in the quarrel. But to help themselves with pretence for the war, they had found out another Saguntum, even the city of Athens; which, if the Macedonian should win, then rested there no more to do, than that he should presently embark himself for Italy, whither he would come, not as Hannibal from Saguntum, in five months, but in the short space of five days sailing. Thus P. Sulpicius, the consul, told the multitude, when he exhorted them to make war upon Philip; which at his first propounding they had denied. The example of Pyrrhus was by him alleged, to shew what Philip, with the power of a greater kingdom, might dare to undertake; as also the fortunate voyage of Scipio into Africa, to shew the difference of making war abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their own country. By such arguments was the commonalty of Rome induced to believe that this war with the Macedonian was both just and necessary. So it was decreed: and immediately the same consul hasted away towards Macedon, having that province allotted unto him before, and all things in a readiness, by order from the senate; who followed other motives than the people must be acquainted with. Great thanks were given

to the Athenian ambassadors for their constancy (as was said) in not changing their faith at such time as they stood in danger of being besieged. And indeed great thanks were due to them; though not upon the same occasion. For the people of Rome had no cause to think it a benefit unto themselves, that any Greek town, refusing to sue unto the Macedonian for peace, requested their help against him. But the senate intending to take in hand the conquest of the eastern parts, had reason to give thanks unto those that ministered the occasion. Since therefore it was an untrue suggestion, that Philip was making ready for Italy; and since neither Attalus, the Rhodians, nor any other state in those quarters, desired the Romans to give them protection; these busy-headed Athenians, who falling out with the Acarnanians, and consequently with Philip, about a matter of Maygame, (as was shewed before,) sent ambassadors into all parts of the world, even to Ptolemy of Egypt, and to the Romans, as well as to Attalus, and to other their neighbours, must be accepted as cause of the war, and authors of the benefit thence redounding.

Nevertheless, as it loves to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence, the doings of P. Sulpicius, the consul, were such as might have argued Athens to be the least part of his care. He sailed not about Peloponnesus, but took the ready way to Macedon; and landing about the river of Apsus, between Dyrrachium and Apollonia, there began the war. Soon upon his coming, the Athenian ambassadors were with him, and craved his help; whereof they could make no benefit whilst he was so far from them. They bemoaned themselves as men besieged, and entreated him to deliver them. For which cause he sent unto them C. Claudius, with twenty gallies, and a competent number of men; but the main of his forces he retained with him for the prosecution of a greater design. The Athenians

were not indeed besieged; only some rovers of Chalcia, in the isle of Eubœa, and some bands of adventurers out of Corinth, used to take their ships and spoil their fields, because they had declared themselves against king Philip, that was lord of these two towns. The robberies done by these pirates and freebooters, were, by the more eloquent than warlike Athenians, in the declining age of their fortune and virtue, called a siege. From such detriment the arrival of Claudius, and shortly after of three Rhodian gallies, easily preserved them. As for the Athenians themselves, they that had been wont, in ancient times, to undertake the conquests of Egypt, Cyprus, and Sicily; to make war upon the great Persian king; and to hold so much of Greece in subjection, as made them redoubtable unto all the rest,—had now no more than three ships, and those open ones, not much better than long boats. Yet thought they not themselves a whit the worse, but stood as highly upon the glory and virtue of their ancestors as if it had been still their own.

SECT. X.

The town of Chalcis, in Eubœa, taken and sacked by the Romans and their associates, that lay in garrison at Athens. Philip attempteth to take Athens by surprise; wasteth the country about, and makes a journey into Peloponnesus. Of Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, and his wife. Philip offers to make war against Nabis for the Achæans. He returneth home through Attica, which he spoileth again, and provides against the enemies. Some exploits of the Romans. Divers princes join with them. Great labouring to draw the Ætolians into the war.

PHILIP, returning home from Abydos, heard news of the Roman consul's being about Apollonia. But,

ere he stirred forth to give him entertainment, or perhaps before he had well resolved whether it were best a-while to sit still and try what might be done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make opposition, and resist these invaders with all his forces, he received advertisement from Chalcis of a grievous mishap there befallen him, by procurement of the Athenians ; for C. Claudius, with his Romans, finding no such work at Athens as they had expected, or as was answerable to the fame that went abroad, purposed to do somewhat that might quicken the war, and make his own employment better. He grew soon weary of sitting as a scare-crow to save the Athenians grounds from spoil, and therefore gladly took in hand a business of more importance. The town of Chalcis was negligently guarded by the Macedonian soldiers therein, for that there was no enemy at hand ; and more negligently by the townsmen, who reposed themselves upon their garrison. Hereof Claudius having advertisement, sailed thither by night for fear of being descried ; and arriving there a little before break of day, took it by scalado. He used no mercy, but slew all that came in his way ; and wanting men to keep it, (unless he should have left the heartless Athenians to their own defence,) he set it on fire, consuming the king's magazines of corn, and all provisions for war, which were plenteously filled. Neither were he and his associates contented with the great abundance of spoil which they carried aboard their ships, and with enlarging all those whom Philip, as in a place of most security, kept there imprisoned ; but, to shew their despite and hatred unto the king, they overthrew and broke in pieces the statues unto him there erected. This done, they hasted away towards Athens, where the news of their exploit were like to be joyfully welcomed. The king then lay at Demetrias, about some twenty miles thence ; whither, when these tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he saw

that it was too late to remedy the matter, yet he made all haste to take revenge. He thought to have taken the Athenians, with their trusty friends, busy at work in ransacking the town, and loading themselves with spoil, but they were gone before his coming. Five thousand light-armed foot he had with him, and three hundred horse, whereof leaving at Chalcis only a few to bury the dead, he marched thence away speedily towards Athens; thinking it not impossible to take his enemies in the joy of their victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken Chalcis. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a foot-post, that stood scout for the city upon the borders, had not descried him afar off, and swiftly carried word of his approach to Athens. It was mid-night when this post came thither; who found all the town asleep, as fearless of any danger. But the magistrates, hearing his report, caused a trumpet out of their citadel to sound the alarm, and with all speed made ready for defence. Within a few hours Philip was there; who seeing the many lights, and other signs of busy preparation usual in such a case, understood that they had news of his coming; and therefore willed his men to repose themselves till it were day. It is like, that the paucity of his followers did help well to animate the citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though Claudius were not yet returned, (who was to fetch a compass about by sea, and had no cause of haste,) yet having in the town some mercenary soldiers, which they kept of their own, besides the great multitude of citizens; they adventured to issue forth at a gate, whereto they saw Philip make approach. The king was glad of this; reckoning all those his own that were thus hardy. He therefore only willed his men to follow his example, and presently gave charge upon them. In that fight he gave singular proof of his valour; and beating down many of the enemies with his own

hands, drove them with great slaughter back into the city. The heat of his courage transported him farther than discretion would have allowed, even to the very gate. But he retired without harm taken ; for that they, which were upon the towers over the gate, could not use their casting weapons against him, without endangering their own people, that were thronging before him into the city. There was a temple of Hercules, a place of exercise, with a grove, and many goodly monuments besides, near adjoining unto Athens ; of which he spared none, but suffered the rage of his anger to extend, even unto the sepulchres of the dead. The next day came the Romans, and some companies of Attalus's men from Ægina ; too late, in regard of what was already past ; but in good time to prevent him of satisfying his anger to the full, which as yet he had not done. So he departed thence to Corinth ; and hearing that the Achæans held a parliament at Argos, he came thither to them unexpected.

The Achæans were devising upon war, which they intended to make against Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedæmon ; who being started up in the room of Machanidas, did greater mischief than any that went before him. This tyrant relied wholly upon his mercenaries ; and of his subjects had no regard. He was a cruel oppressor ; a greedy extortioner upon those that lived under him ; and one that, in his natural condition, smelt rankly of the hangman. In these qualities, his wife Apega, was very fitly matched with him ; since his dexterity was no greater in spoiling the men, than hers in fleecing their wives ; whom she would never suffer to be at quiet, till they had presented her with all their jewels and apparel'. Her husband was so delighted with her property, that he caused an image to be made lively representing her, and apparelled it with such costly gar-

ments as she used to wear. But it was indeed an engine, serving only to torment men². Hereof he made use, when he meant to try the virtue of his rhetoric. For calling unto him some rich man, of whose money he was desirous, he would bring him into the room where his counterfeit Apega stood, and there use all his art of persuasion to get what he desired, as it were by good will. If he could not so speed, but was answered with excuses, then took he the refractory denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his wife Apega (who sat by in a chair) could persuade more effectually. So he led him to the image, that rose up, and opened the arms, as it were for embracement. Those arms were full of sharp iron nails, the like whereof were also sticking in the breasts, though hidden with her clothes; and herewith she griped the poor wretch, to the pleasure of the tyrant, that laughed at his cruel death. Such, and worse, (for it were long to tell all here that is spoken of him,) was Nabis in his government. In his dealings abroad he combined with the Ætolians, as Machanidas and Lycurgus had done before him. By these he grew into acquaintance with the Romans; and was comprehended in the league which they made with Philip, at the end of their former war. Of Philopœmen's virtue he stood in fear; and therefore durst not provoke the Achæans, as long as they had such an able commander. But when Cycliades, a far worse captain, was their prætor, and all, or the greatest part of their mercenaries were discharged, Philopœmen being also gone into Crete to follow his beloved occupation of war,—then did Nabis fall upon their territory; and wasting all the fields, made them distrust their own safety in the towns.

Against this tyrant the Achæans were preparing for war, when Philip came among them; and had

set down what proportion of soldiers every city of their corporation should furnish out. But Philip willed them not to trouble themselves with the care of this business ; forasmuch as he alone would ease them of this war, and take the burden upon himself. With exceeding joy and thanks they accepted of this kind offer. But when he told them, that whilst he made war upon Lacedæmon, he ought not to leave his own towns unguarded ; in which respect, he thought they would be pleased to send a few men to Corinth, and some companies into the isle of Eubœa, that so he might securely pursue the war against Nabis ; immediately they found out his device, which was none other than to engage their nation in his war against the Romans. Wherefore their prætor Cycliades made him answer, that their laws forbade them to conclude any other matters in their parliament than those for which it was assembled. So passing the decree, upon which they had agreed before, for preparing war against Nabis, he broke up the assembly, with every man's goodliking ; whereas, in former times, he had been thought no better than one of the king's parasites.

It grieved the king to have thus failed in his purpose with the Achæans. Nevertheless he gathered up among them a few volunteers, and so returned by Corinth back into Attica. There he met with Philocles, one of his captains, that, with two thousand men, had been doing what harm he might unto the country. With this addition of strength, he attempted the castle of Eleusine, the haven of Pyræus, and even the city of Athens. But the Romans made such haste after him by sea, thrusting themselves into every of these places, that he could no more than wreak his anger upon those goodly temples with which the land of Attica was at that time singularly beautified. So he destroyed all the works of their notable artificers, wrought in excellent marble, which they had in plenty of their own ; or, hav-

ing long ago been masters of the sea, had brought from other places, where best choice was found. Neither did he only pull all down, but caused his men to break the very stones, that they might be unserviceable to the reparation. His loss at Chalcis being thus revenged upon Athens, he went home into Macedon, and there made provision both against the Roman consul that lay about Apollonia, and against the Dardanians, with other his bad neighbours, which were likely to infest him. Among his other cares, he forgot not the Ætolians, to whose parliament, shortly to be held at Naupactus, he sent an embassy, requesting them to continue in his friendship. Thus was Philip occupied.

Sulpicius, the Roman consul, encamped upon the river of Apsus. Thence he sent forth Apustius, his lieutenant, with part of his army, to waste the borders of Macedon. Apustius took sundry castles and towns, using such extremity of sword and fire at Antipatria, the first good town which he won by force, that none durst afterwards make resistance, unless they knew themselves able to hold out. Returning towards the consul with his spoil, he was charged in rear, upon the passage of a brook, by Athenagoras, a Macedonian captain; but the Romans had the better, and killing many of these enemies, took prisoners many more, to the increase of their booty, with which they arrived in safety at their camp. The success of this expedition, though it were not great, yet served to draw into the Roman friendship those that had formerly no good inclination to the Macedonian. These were Pleuratus, the son of Scerdilaides the Illyrian; Aminander, king of the Athamanians; and Bato, the son of Longarus, a prince of the Dardanians. They offered their assistance unto the consul, who thanked them, and said, that he would shortly make use of Pleuratus and Bato, when he entered into Macedon; but that the friendship of Aminander, whose country lay be-

tween the Ætolians and Thessaly, might be perhaps available with the Ætolians, to stir them up against Philip.

So the present care was wholly set upon the Ætolian parliament at hand. Thither came ambassadors from the Macedonians, Romans, and Athenians. Of which, the Macedonian spake first, and said, that as there was nothing fallen out which should occasion the breach of peace between his master and the Ætolians, so was it to be hoped that they would not suffer themselves, without good cause, to be carried away after other mens fancies. He prayed them to consider, how the Romans heretofore had made shew as if their war in Greece tended only to the defence of the Ætolians; and yet notwithstanding had been angry, that the Ætolians, by making peace with Philip, had no longer need of such their patronage. What might it be that made them so busy in intruding their protection upon those that needed it not? Surely it was even the general hatred which these barbarians bore unto the Greeks. For even after the same sort had they lent their help to the Mamertines, and afterwards delivered Syracuse, when it was oppressed by Carthaginian tyrants; but now both Syracuse and Messina were subject unto the rods and axes of the Romans. To the same effect he alleged many examples; adding, that in like sort it would happen to the Ætolians, who, if they drew such masters into Greece, must not look hereafter to hold, as now, free parliaments of their own, wherein to consult about war and peace; the Romans would ease them of this care, and send them such a moderator as went every year from Rome to Syracuse. Wherefore he concluded, that it was best for them, whilst as yet they might, and whilst one of them as yet could help the other, to continue in their league with Philip, with whom, if at any time upon light occasion they happened to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled; and with whom they had

three years ago made the peace, which still continued, although the same Romans were then against it who sought to break it now.

It would have troubled the Romans to frame a good answer to these objections. For the Macedonians had spoken the very truth, in shewing whereto this their patronage, which they offered with such importunity, did tend. Wherefore, the Athenians were set on by them to speak next; who had store of eloquence, and matter of recrimination enough, to make Philip odious. These affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the Macedonian ambassador to call the Romans by the name of barbarians, knowing in what barbarous manner his own king had, in few days past, made war upon the gods themselves, by destroying all their temples in Attica. Herewithal they made a pitiful rehearsal of their own calamities, and said, that if Philip might have his will, Ætolia, and all the rest of Greece, should feel the same that Attica had felt; yea, that Athens itself, together with Minerva, Jupiter, Ceres, and other of the gods, were like to have felt, if the walls and the Roman arms had not defended them.

Then spake the Romans, who excusing, as well as they could, their own oppression of all those in whose defence they had heretofore taken arms, went roundly to the point in hand. They said, that they had of late made war in the Ætolians' behalf; and that the Ætolians had, without their consent, made peace; whereof, since the Ætolians must excuse themselves, by alleging, that the Romans, being busied with Carthage, wanted leisure to give them aid convenient, so this excuse being now taken away, and the Romans wholly bent against their common enemy, it concerned the Ætolians to take part with them in their war and victory, unless they had rather perish with Philip.

It might easily be perceived, that they which were so vehement in offering their help ere it was desired,

were themselves carried into the war by more earnest motives than a simple desire to help those friends with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may have been the cause why Dorymachus, the Ætolian prætor, shifted them off a while with a dilatory answer; though he told his countrymen, that, by reserving themselves till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with those that had the better fortune. His answer was first in general terms,—that over-much haste was an enemy to good counsel; for which cause they must further deliberate, ere they concluded. But, coming nearer to the matter in hand, he passed a decree, that the prætor might at any time call an assembly of the states, and therein conclude upon this business, any law to the contrary notwithstanding; whereas otherwise it was unlawful to treat of such affairs, except in two of their great parliaments, that were held at set times.

SECT. XI.

The meeting of Philip with the Romans, and skirmishing with them on his borders. The Ætolians invade his dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of Attalus and the Roman fleet.

PHILIP was glad to hear that the Romans had sped no better in their solicitation of the Ætolians. He thought them hereby disappointed in the very beginning of one great help, and meant himself to disappoint them of another. His son Perseus, a very boy, was sent to keep the straits of Pelagonia against the Dardanians, having with him some of the king's council to govern both him and his army. It was judged, as may seem, that the presence of the king's son, how young soever, would both encourage his follow-

ers and terrify the enemies, by making them at least believe that he was not weakly attended. And this may have been the reason why the same Perseus, a few years before this, was in like manner left upon the borders of Ætolia by his father, whom earnest business called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand, it was thought that the Macedonian fleet, under Heraclides, would serve to keep Attalus, with the Rhodians and Romans, from doing harm by sea, when the king's back was turned, who took his journey westward against Sulpicius the consul.

The armies met in the country of the Dassaretii, a people in the utmost borders of Macedon, towards Illyria, about the mountains of Candavia, that, running along from Hæmus in the north, until they join in the south with Pindus, enclose the western parts of Macedon. Two or three days they lay in sight the one of the other, without making offer of battle. The consul was the first that issued forth of his camp into the open field. But Philip was not confident in the strength which he had then about him; and therefore thought it better to send forth some of his light-armed mercenaries, and some part of his horse, to entertain them with skirmish. These were easily vanquished by the Romans, and driven back into their camp. Now, although it was so that the king was unwilling to hazard all at first upon a cast, and therefore sent for Perseus, with his companies, to increase his own forces; yet, being no less unwilling to lose too much in reputation, he made a shew a day after as if he would have fought. He had found the advantage of a place fit for ambush, wherein he bestowed as many as he thought meet of his targetiers, and so gave charge to Athenagoras, one of his captains, to provoke out the Romans to fight; instructing both him and the targetiers how to behave themselves respectively, as opportunity should fall out. The Romans had no mistrust of any am-

bush, having fought upon the same ground the day before ; wherefore, perhaps, they might have sustained some notable detriment, if the king's directions had been well followed. For when Athenagoras began to fall back, they charged him so hotly, that they drove him to an hasty flight, and pursued him as hard as they were able. But the captains of the targetiers, not staying to let them run into the danger, discovered themselves before it was time, and thereby made frustrate the work to which they were appointed. The consul hereby gathered, that the king had some desire to try the fortune of a battle, which he therefore presented the second time, leading forth his army, and setting it in order, with elephants in the front ; a kind of help which the Romans had never used before, but had taken these of late from the Carthaginians. Such are the alterations wrought by time. It was scarce above eighty years ere this that Pyrrhus carried elephants out of Greece into Italy to affright the Romans, who had never seen any of those beasts before. But now the same Romans (whilst possibly some were yet alive which had known that expedition of Pyrrhus,) come into Macedon, bringing elephants with them, whereof the Macedonians and Greeks had none. Philip had patience to let the consul brave him at his trenches, wherein he did wisely ; for the Roman had greater need to fight than he. Sulpicius was unwilling to lose time ; neither could he, without great danger, lying so near the enemy, that was strong in horse, send his men to fetch in corn out of the fields. Wherefore he removed eight miles off ; presuming that Philip would not adventure to meet him on even ground, and so the more boldly he suffered his foragers to over-run the country. The king was nothing sorry of this ; but permitted the Romans to take their good pleasure, even till their presumption, and his own supposed fear, should make them careless. When this was come to pass, he took all his horse

and light-armed foot, with which he occupied a place in the midway between the foragers and their camp. There he staid in covert with part of his forces, to keep the passages that none should escape. The rest he sent abroad the country to fall upon the stragglers, willing them to put all to the sword, and let none run home with news to the camp. The slaughter was great; and those which escaped the hands of them that were sent abroad to scour the fields, lighted all, or most of them, upon the king and his companies in their flight, so as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the camp had news of this. But in the end there escaped some, who, though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went, yet, by telling what had happened to themselves, raised a great tumult. Sulpicius here-upon sends forth all his horse, and bids them help their fellows where they saw it needful, he himself with the legions followed. The companies of horse divided themselves accordingly, as they met with advertisements upon the way, into many parts, not knowing where was most of the danger. Such of them as lighted upon Philip's troops, that were canvassing the field, took their task where they found it. But the main bulk of them fell upon the king himself. They had the disadvantage, as coming fewer and unprepared, to one that was ready for them. So they were beaten away, as their fellows also might have been, if the king had well bethought himself, and given over in time. But while, not contented with such an harvest, he was too greedy about a poor gleaning, the Roman legions appeared in sight, which emboldened their horse to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparent enforced the Macedonians to look to their own safety. They ran which way they could, and (as men that lie in wait for others are seldom heedful of that which may befall themselves) to escape the enemy, they declined the fairest way, so as they were plunged in marshes and bogs, where-

in many of them were lost. The king's horse was slain under him ; and there had he been cast away, if a loving subject of his had not alighted, mounted him upon his own horse, and delivered him out of peril, at the expence of his own life, that, running on foot, was overtaken and killed.

In the common opinion, Philip was charged with improvident rashness, and the consul with as much dulness, for this day's service. A little longer stay would have delivered the king from these enemies without any blow ; since, when all the fields about them were wasted, they must needs have retired back to the sea. On the other side it was not thought unlikely, that if the Romans, following the king, had set upon his camp, at such time as he fled thither, half amazed with fear of being either slain or taken, they might have won it. But that noble historian, Livy, (as is commonly his manner,) hath judiciously observed, that neither the one nor the other were much to blame in this day's work ; for the main body of the king's army lay safe in his camp, and could not be so astonished with the loss of two or three hundred horse, that it should therefore have abandoned the defence of the trenches. And as for the king himself, he was advertised, that Pleuratus the Illyrian, and the Dardanians, were fallen upon his country, when they found the passage therein open, after Perseus was called away from custody of the straits. This was it which made him adventure to do somewhat betimes, that he might set the Romans going the sooner, and afterwards look unto his troublesome neighbours. In consideration of this, Philip was desirous to clear himself of the Romans as soon as he might ; and to that purpose he sent unto the consul, requesting a day of truce for burial of the dead. But, instead of so doing, he marched away by night ; and left fires in his camp to beguile the enemy, as if he had not stirred out of the place. Sulpicius, when he heard of the king's departure,

was not slow to follow him. He overtook the Macedonians in a place of strength, which they had fenced, (for it was a woody ground,) by cutting down trees, and laying then athwart the way where it was most open. In making of such places good, the Macedonian phalanx was of little use, being a square battle of pikes, not fit for every ground. The archers of Crete were judged, and were indeed more serviceable in that case. But they were few, and their arrows were of small force against the Roman shields. The Macedonians therefore helped them, by flinging of stones; but to no purpose. For the Romans got within them, and forced them to quit the place. This victory (such as it was) laid open unto the consul some poor towns thereabout; which partly were taken by strong hand, partly yielded for fear. But the spoil of these and of the fields adjoining was not sufficient to maintain his army, and therefore he returned back to Apollonia.

The Dardanians, hearing that Philip was come back, withdrew themselves apace out of the country. The king sent Athenagoras to wait upon them home, whilst he himself went against the Ætolians. For Damocritus, the prætor of the Ætolians, who had reserved himself and his nation unto the event of things, hearing report that Philip was beaten once again, as also that Pleuratus and the Dardanians was fallen upon Macedon, grew no less busy on the sudden, than before he had been wise. He persuaded his nation to take their time; and so, not staying to proclaim war, joined his forces with Aminander, the Athamanian, and made invasion upon Thessaly. They took and cruelly sacked a few towns; whereby they grew confident, as if, without any danger, they might do what they listed. But Philip came upon them ere they looked for him; and killing them as they lay dispersed, was like to have taken their camp; if Alexander, more wary than the Æto-

lians, had not helped at need, and made the retreat through his own mountainous country.

About the same time, the Roman fleet, assisted by Attalus and the Rhodians, had taken some small islands in the Ægean sea. They took likewise the town of Oreum, in the isle of Eubœa, and some other places thereabout. The towns were given to Attalus, after the same compact that had formerly been made with the Ætolians; the goods therein found were given to the Romans, and the people for slaves. Other attempts on that side were hindered; either by foul weather at sea, or by want of daring, and of means.

SECT. XII.

Villius, the Roman consul, wastes a year to no effect. War of the Gauls in Italy. An embassy of the Romans to Carthage, Masinissa, and Vermina. The Macedonian prepares for defence of his kingdom, and T. Quintius Flaminius is sent against him.

Thus the time ran away, and P. Villius, a new consul, took charge of the war in Macedon. He was troubled with a mutiny of his oldest soldiers; whereof two thousand, having served long in Sicily and Africa, thought themselves much wronged, in that they could not be suffered to look unto their own estates at home. They were (belike) of the legions that had served at Cannæ; as may seem by their complaint of having been long absent from Italy; whither fain they would have returned, when by their colonels they were shipped for Macedon. How Villius dealt with them it is uncertain; for the history of his year is lost, whereof the miss is not great, since he did nothing memorable. Valerius Antias, as we find in Livy, hath adorned this Villius with a

great exploit against Philip¹. Yet, since Livy himself, an historian to whom few of the best are matchable, could find no such thing recorded in any good author, we may reasonably believe that Villius's year was idle.

In the beginning of this Macedonian war, the Romans found more trouble than could have been expected with the Gauls. Their colony of Placentia, a goodly and strong town, which neither Hannibal, nor after him Asdrubal, had been able to force, was taken by these barbarians, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like sort Cremona was attempted, but saved herself, taking warning by her neighbours's calamity. Hamilcar, a Carthaginian, that had stayed behind Asdrubal or Mago, in those parts, was now become captain of the Gauls, in these their enterprises. This when the Romans heard, they sent ambassadors to the Carthaginians, giving them to understand, that, if they were not weary of the peace, it behoved them to call home and deliver up this their citizen Hamilcar, who made war in Italy. Hereunto it was added, (perhaps lest the message might seem otherwise to have savoured a little of some fear,) that of the fugitive slaves belonging unto the Romans, there were some reported to walk up and down in Carthage; which if it were so, then ought they to be restored back to their masters, as was conditioned in the late peace. The ambassadors that were sent on this errand, had further charge to treat with Masinissa, as also with Vermina the son of Syphax. Unto Masinissa, besides matter of compliment, they were to signify what pleasure he might do them, by lending them some of his Numidian horse to serve in their war against the Macedonian. Vermina had entreated the senate to vouchsafe unto him the name of king, and promised thereafter to deserve it, by his readiness in doing

¹ Liv. l. xxii.

them all good offices. But they were somewhat scrupulous in the matter, and said, that having been, and being still, (as they took it,) their enemy, he ought first of all to desire peace; for that the name of king, was an honour which they used not to confer upon any, save only upon such as had royally deserved it at their hands. The authority to make peace with him, was wholly committed unto these ambassadors; upon such terms as they should think fit, without further relation to the senate and people; for they were then busied with greater cares. The Carthaginians made a gentle answer, that they wholly disclaimed Hamilcar, banishing him and confiscating his goods. As for the fugitives, they had restored as many as they could find, and would, in that point, as far as was requisite, give satisfaction to the senate. Herewithal they sent a great proportion of corn to Rome, and the like unto the army that was in Macedon. King Masinissa would have lent unto the Romans two thousand of his Numidian horse; but they were contented with half the number, and would accept no more. Vermina met with the ambassadors to give them entertainment, on the borders of his kingdom; and, without any disputation, agreed with them upon terms of peace.

Thus were the Romans busied in taking order for their Macedonian war, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for Hamilcar and his Gauls, they laid siege unto Cremona, where L. Furius, a Roman prætor, came upon them, fought a battle with them, and overcame them. Hamilcar the Carthaginian died in this battle, and the fruit of the victory was such, as both made amends for losses past, and left the work easy to those that afterwards should have the managing of war among those Gauls. So was there good leisure to think upon the business of Macedon, where Philip was carefully providing to give contentment unto his subjects; by punishing a bad counsellor whom

they hated ; as also to assure unto himself the Achæans, by rendering unto them some towns that he held of theirs ; and finally, to strengthen his kingdom, not only by exercising and training his people, but by fortifying the passages that led thereinto out of Epirus. This was in doing, when Villius, having unprofitably laboured to find way into Macedon, taking a journey, (as Sulpicius had done before him,) wherein he could not be supplied with victuals, determined at length to try a new course. But then came advertisement, that T. Quintius Flaminius was chosen consul, and had Macedon allotted him for his province, whose coming was expected ; and he very shortly arrived at the army.

SECT. XIII.

The Romans begin to make war by negotiation. T. Quintius wins a passage against Philip. Thessaly wasted by Philip, the Romans, and Ætolians. The Achæans forsaking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treaty of peace that was vain. Philip delivers Argos to Nabis the tyrant, who presently enters into league with the Romans.

THE Romans had not been wont in former times to make war after such a trifling manner. It was their use to give battle to the enemy as soon as they met with him. If he refused it, they besieged his towns, and so forced him to try the fortune of a day, with his disadvantage in reputation, when he had long forborne it, (as it would be interpreted,) upon knowledge of his own weakness. But in this their war with Philip, they began to learn of the subtle Greeks the art of negotiation ; wherein hitherto they were not grown so fine as within a little time they proved. Their treasury was poor, and stood indebt

ed, many years after this, unto private men, for part of those monies that had been borrowed in the second Punic war'. This had made the commonalty averse from the Macedonian war, and had thereby driven the senators, greedy of the enterprise, to make use of their cunning. Yet being weary of the slow pace wherewith their business went forward, they determined to increase their army, that they might have the less need to rely upon their confederates. So they levied eight thousand foot and eight hundred horse, (the greater part of them of the Latins,) which they sent with T. Quintius Flaminius, the new consul, into Macedon. Their navy, and other means, could well have served for the setting forth and transportation of a greater army; but by straining themselves to the utmost of their abilities, they should (besides other difficulties incident unto the sustenance of those that are too many, and too far from home) have bred some jealousy in their friends of Greece, and thereby have lost some friends; yea, perhaps have increased the number of their enemies more than of their own soldiers. This present augmentation of the forces was very requisite; for that Attalus, about the same time, excused himself unto them by his ambassadors; requesting that either they would undertake the defence of his kingdom against Antiochus, who invaded it, or else that they would not take it uncourteously that he quitted the war with Philip, and returned home, to look unto that which more concerned him. Their answer was remarkable; they said,—That it was not their manner to use the aid of their friends longer than their friends had good opportunity, and could also be well contented to afford it; that they could not honestly take part with Attalus, though he were their good friend, against Antiochus, whom they held in the like account; but that they would deal with An-

tiochus by ambassadors, and (as common friends unto both of the kings) do their best to persuade an atonement between them. In such loving fashion did they now carry themselves towards their good friend the king Antiochus, who reciprocally, at their entreaty, withdrew his army from the kingdom of Attalus. But how little they regarded these terms of friendship, after that once they had made an end with Philip, it will very soon appear.

T. Quintius hasting away from Rome, came betimes into his province, with the supply decreed unto him, which consisted for the most part of old soldiers that had served in Spain and Africa. He found Villius the old consul (whom at his coming he presently discharged) and king Philip of Macedon, encamped one against the other in the straits of Epirus, by the river of Apsus or Aous. It was manifest, that either the Romans must fetch a compass about, and seek their way into Macedon through the poor country of the Dasseretians, or else win by force that passage which the king defended. In taking the former way, they had already two years together mispent their time, and been forced to return back without profit, for want of victuals ; whereof they could neither carry with them store sufficient, nor find it on the way. But if they could once get over these mountains, which divided the south of Epirus from Thessaly, then should they enter into a plentiful country ; and which, by long dependence upon the Macedonian, was become (in a manner) part of his kingdom, whereof it made the south border. Nevertheless the desire of winning this passage was greater than the likelihood ; for the river of Apsus running through that valley, which alone was open between the mountains, made it all a deep marsh, and unpassable bog ; a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the main rock by man's hand. Wherefore Quintius assayed to climb in the mountains ; but finding himself disappointed of this hope,

through the diligence of his enemy, who neglected not the guard of them, that was very easy, he was compelled to sit still, without doing any thing for the space of forty days.

This long time of rest gave hope unto Philip, that the war might be ended by composition, upon some reasonable terms. He therefore so dealt with some of the Epirots, (among whom he had many friends,) that he and the consul had a meeting together ; but nothing was effected. The consul would have him to set all the towns of Greece at liberty ; and to make amends for the injuries which he had done to many people in his late wars. Philip was contented to give liberty to those whom he had subdued of late ; but unto such as had been long subject unto him and his ancestors, he thought it against all reason that he should relinquish his claim and dominion over them. He also said, that as far forth as it should appear that he had done wrong unto any town or people whatsoever, he could well be pleased to make such amends as might seem convenient in the judgment of some free state that had not been interested in those quarrels. But herewithal Quintius was not satisfied. There needed (he said) no judgment or compromise ; forasmuch as it was apparent, that Philip had always been the invader, and had not made war as one provoked, in his own defence. After this altercation, when they should come to particulars, and when the consul was required to name those towns that he would have set at liberty, the first that he named were the Thessalians. These had been subjects (though conditional) unto the Macedonian kings ever since the days of Alexander the Great, and of Philip his father. Wherefore, as soon as Flaminius had named the Thessalians, the king, in a rage, demanded what sharper condition he would have laid upon him, had he been but vanquished. And herewithal he abruptly flung away, refusing to hear any more of such discourse.

After this the consul strove in vain, for two or three days together, to have prevailed against the difficulties of that passage which Philip kept. When he had well wearied himself, and could not resolve what course to take, there came to him an herdsman, sent from Charopus, a prince of the Epirots, that favoured the Romans, who, having long kept beasts in those mountains, was thoroughly acquainted with all by-paths; and therefore undertook to guide the Romans, without any danger, to a place where they should have advantage of the enemy. This guide, for fear of treacherous dealing, was fast bound; and, being promised a great reward in case he made good his word, had such companies as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They travelled by night, (it being then about the full of the moon,) and rested in the day-time, for fear of being discovered. When they had recovered the hill-tops, and were above the Macedonians, (though undiscovered by them, because at their backs,) they raised a great smoke, whereby they gave notice of their success unto the consul. Some skirmishes, whilst they were on their journey, T. Quintius had held with the Macedonian, thereby to avert him from the thought of that which was intended. But when, on the third morning, he saw the smoke arise more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained unto the place whither they were sent; he pressed as near as he could unto the enemy's camp, and assailed them in their strength. He prevailed as little as in former times, until the shouting of those that ran down the hill, and charged Philip on the back, astonished so the Macedonians, that they betook themselves to flight. The king, upon the first apprehension of the danger, made all speed away to save himself. Yet anon, considering that the difficulty of the passage must needs hinder the Romans from pursuing him, he made a stand at the end of five miles, and gathered there together his

broken troops, of whom he saw wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest loss was of his camp and provisions, if not rather perhaps of his reputation; for that now the Macedonians began to stand in fear, lest being driven from a place of such advantage, they should hardly make good their party against the enemy upon equal ground; neither was Philip himself much better persuaded. Wherefore he caused the Thessalians, as many of them as in his hasty retreat he could visit, to forsake their towns and country, carrying away with them as much as they were able, and spoiling all the rest. But all of them could not be persuaded thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their king) their antient habitations, and all the substance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly resisted him; which they might the better do, for that he could not stay to use any great compulsion. He also himself took it very grievously, that he was driven to make such waste of a most pleasant and fruitful country, which had ever been well affected unto him; so that a little hindrance did serve to make him break off his purpose, and withdraw himself home into his kingdom of Macedon.

The Ætolians and Athamanians, when this fell out, were even in a readiness to invade Thessaly, whereinto the ways lay more open out of their several countries. When therefore they heard for certain, that Philip was beaten by the Romans, they foreslowed not the occasion, but made all speed, each of them to lay hold upon what they might. T. Quintius followed them within a little while; but they had gotten so much before his coming, that he, in gleaning after their harvest, could not find enough to maintain his army. Thus were the poor Thessalians, of whose liberty the Romans a few days since had made shew to be very desirous, wasted by the same Romans and their confederates; not knowing which way to turn themselves, or whom to avoid. T. Quin-

tius won Phaleria by assault ; Metropolis and Piera yielded unto him. Rhage he besieged, and having made a fair breach, yet was unable to force it, so stoutly it was defended, both by the inhabitants, and by a Macedonian garrison therein. Philip also, at the same time, having somewhat recollected his spirits, hovered about Tempe with his army, thrusting men into all places that were like to be distressed. So the consul having well-near spent his victuals, and seeing no hope to prevail at Rhage, broke up his siege, and departed out of Thessaly. He had appointed his ships of burden to meet him at Anticyra, an haven town of Phocis, on the gulf of Corinth ; which country being friend to the Macedonian, he presently invaded ; not so much for hatred unto the people, as because it lay conveniently situated between Thessaly and other regions, wherein he had business, or was shortly like to have. Many towns in Phocis he won by assault ; many were yielded up unto him for fear ; and within short space he had, in effect, mastered it all.

In the meantime L. Quintius, the consul's brother, being then admiral for the Romans in this war, joined with king Attalus and the Rhodian fleet. They won two cities in Eubœa, and afterwards laid siege unto Cenchree, an haven and arsenal of the Corinthians on their eastern sea. This enterprise did somewhat help forward the Achæans in their desire to leave the part of Philip ; since it might come to pass, that Corinth itself, ere long time were spent, and that Cenchree, with other places appertaining to Corinth, now very shortly should be rendered unto their nation, by favour of the Romans.

But there were other motives inducing the Achæans to prefer the friendship of the Romans before the patronage of Philip, whereto they had been long accustomed. For this king had so many ways offended them in time of peace, that they thought it the best course to rid their hands of him, whilst, be-

ing entangled in a dangerous war, he wanted means to hinder the execution of such counsel as they should hold the safest. His tyrannous practices to make himself their absolute lord; his poisoning of Arratus, their old governor; his false dealing with the Messenians, Epirots, and other people their confederates, and his own dependants; together with many particular outrages by him committed,—had caused them long since to hold him as a necessary evil, even whilst they were unable to be without his assistance. But since, by the virtue of Philopœmen, they were grown somewhat confident in their own strength, so as, without the Macedonian help, they could as well subsist as having him to friend; then did they only think how evil he was, and thereupon rejoice the more in that he was become no longer necessary. It angered him to perceive how they stood affected; and therefore he sent murderers to take away the life of Philopœmen. But failing in this enterprise, and being detected, he did thereby only set fire to the wood, which was thoroughly dry before, and prepared to burn. Philopœmen wrought so with the Achæans, that no discourse was more familiar with them, than what great cause they had to withdraw themselves from the Macedonians. Cycliadas, a principal man among them, and lately their prætor, was expelled by them for shewing himself passionate in the cause of Philip, and Aristænus chosen prætor, who laboured to join them in society with the Romans.

These news were very welcome to T. Quintius. Embassadors were sent from the Romans and their confederates, king Attalus, the Rhodians, and Athenians, to treat with the Achæans, making promise, that they should have Corinth restored unto them, if they would forsake the Macedonian. A parliament of the Achæans was held at Sicyon, to delibe-

rate and resolve in this weighty case. Therein the Romans and their adherents desired the Achæans to join with them in making war upon Philip. Contrariwise, the ambassadors of Philip, whom he had also sent for this business, admonishing the Athenians of their alliance with the king, and of their faith due unto him, requested them that they would be contented to remain as neutrals. This moderate request of Philip's ambassador, did no way advance his master's cause; rather it gave the Achæans to understand, that he, who could be satisfied with so little at their hands, knew himself unable to gratify them in any reciprocal demand. Yet were there many in that great council, who, remembering the benefits of Philip and Antigonos, laboured earnestly for the preservation of the ancient league. But in fine, the sense of late injuries, and expectation of like or worse from him in the future, prevailed against the memory of those old good turns, which he (and Antigonos before him) had partly sold unto them, and partly had used as baits, whereby to allure them into absolute subjection. Neither was it perhaps of the least importance, that the Romans were strong, and likely to prevail in the end. So after much altercation the decree passed, That they should thenceforward renounce the Macedonian, and take part with his enemies in this war. With Attalus and the Rhodians they forthwith entered into society; with the Romans, (because no league would be of force, until the senate and people had approved it,) they forbore to decree any society at the present, until the return of those ambassadors from Rome which they determined to send thither of purpose. The Megalopolitans, Dimeans, and Argives, having done their best for the Macedonian, as by many respects they were bound, rose up out of the council, and departed before the passing the decree, which they could not resist, nor yet with honesty thereto give assent. For this their good will, and greater, which

they shortly manifested, the Argives had so little thanks, that all the rest of the Achæans may be the better excused for escaping how they might out of the hands of so fell a prince.

Soon after this, upon a solemn day at Argos, the affection of the citizens discovered itself so plainly in the behalf of Philip, that they which were his partisans within the town made no doubt of putting the city into his hands, if they might have any small assistance. Philocles, a lieutenant of the king's lay then in Corinth; which he had manfully defended against the Romans and Attalus; him the conspirators drew to Argos; whither coming on a sudden, and finding the multitude ready to join with him, he easily compelled the Achæan garrison to quit the place.

This getting of Argos, together with the good defence of Corinth and some other towns, as it helped Philip a little in his reputation, so they gave him hope to obtain some good end by treaty, whilst as yet with his honour he might seek it; and when (the winter being now come on) a new consul would shortly be chosen, who should take the work out of Titus's hands, if it were not concluded the sooner. Titus had the like respect unto himself, and therefore thought it best, since more could not be done, to predispose things unto a conclusion, for his own reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the sea-shore, in the bay then called the Malian, or Larnian Bay, now (as is supposed) the gulf of Zition, in the Egean sea, or Archipelago. Thither came Titus, with Aminander the Athamanian, an ambassador of Attalus; the admiral of Rhodes; and some agents for the Ætolians and Achæans. Philip had with him some few of his own captains, and Cycliades, lately banished for his sake out of Achaia. He refused to come on shore; though fearing (as he said) none but the immortal gods, yet misdoubting some treachery in the Ætolians. The demands of

Titus in behalf of the Romans were, That he should set all cities of Greece at liberty, deliver up to the Romans and their confederates all prisoners which he had of theirs, and renegadoes; likewise whatsoever he held of theirs in Illyria, and whatsoever about Greece or Asia he had gotten from Ptolemy, then king of Egypt, after his father's death. Attalus demanded restitution to be made entire of ships, towns, and temples, by him taken and spoiled in the late war between them. The Rhodians would have again the country of Paræa, lying over-against their island; as also that he should withdraw his garrisons out of divers towns about the Hellespont, and other havens of their friends. The Achæans desired restitution of Argos and Corinth; about the one of which they might not unjustly quarrel with him; the other had been long his own by their consent. The Ætolians took upon them angrily, as patrons of Greece; willing him to depart out of it, even out of the whole country, leaving it free; and withal to deliver up unto them whatsoever he held that had at any time been theirs. Neither were they herewithal content, but insolently declaimed against him for that which he had lately done in Thessaly, corrupting (as they said) the rewards of the victors, by destroying, when he was vanquished, those towns, which else they might have gotten. To answer these malapert Ætolians, Philip commanded his galley to row near the shore. But they began to ply him afresh, telling him, That he must obey his betters, unless he were able to defend himself by force of arms. He answered them (as he was much giving to jibing) with sundry scoffs, and especially with one which made the Roman consul understand what manner of companions these Ætolians were. For he said, That he had often dealt with them, as likewise the best of the Greeks; desiring them to abrogate a wicked law, which permitted them 'to take spoil ' from spoil;' yet could he get no better an answer,

than 'that they would sooner take Ætolia out of Ætolia.' Titus wondered what might be the meaning of this strange law. So the king told him, 'That they held it a laudable custom, as often as war happened between their friends, to hold up the quarrel, by sending volunteers to serve on both sides, that should spoil both the one and the other. As for the liberty of Greece, he said it was strange that the Ætolians should be so careful thereof, since divers tribes of their own, which he there named, were indeed no Grecians; wherefore he would fain know, whether the Romans would give him leave to make slaves of those Ætolians which were no Greeks. Titus hereat smiled; and was no whit offended to hear the Ætolians well rattled up; touching whom, he began to understand how odious they were in all the country. As for that general demand of setting all Greece at liberty, Philip acknowledged, that it might well beseem the greatness of the Romans; though he would also consider what might beseem his own dignity. But that the Ætolians, Rhodians, and other petty estates, should thus presume, under countenance of the Romans, to take upon them, as if by their great might he should be hereunto compelled; it was, he said, a strange and ridiculous insolence. The Achæans he charged with much ingratitude; reciting against them some decrees of their own, wherein they had loaden both Antigonus and him with more than human honours. Nevertheless he said, that he would render Argos unto them; but as touching Corinth, that he would further deliberate with Titus himself. Thus he addressed himself wholly to the Roman general; unto whom, if he could give satisfaction, he cared little for all the rest. With Attalus and the Rhodians, his late war (he said) was only defensive, they having been the offerers; or if he gave them any occasion, it was

only in helping Prusias, his son-in-law ; neither did he see why they should rather seek amends at his hands, than he at theirs. For whereas they complained, That spoiling a temple of Venus, he had cut down the grove and pleasant walks thereabouts ; what could he do more than send gardeners thither with young plants, if one king of another would stand to ask such recompence ? Thus he jested the matter out ; but offered, nevertheless, in honour of the Romans, to give back the region of Paræa to the Rhodians ; as likewise to Attalus the ships and prisoners of his whereof he had then possession. Thus ended that day's conference, because it was late ; Philip requiring a night's leisure to think upon the articles, which were many, and he ill provided of counsel wherewith to advise about them. ' For your being so ill provided of counsel,' said Titus, ' you may even thank yourself, as having murdered all your friends that were wont to advise you faithfully.' The next day Philip came not until it was late at night, excusing his long stay by the weightiness of the things propounded, whereon he could not suddenly tell how to resolve. But it was believed, that he hereby sought to abridge the Ætolians of leisure to rail at him. And this was the more likely, for that he desired conference in private with the Roman general. The sum of his discourse, as Titus afterwards related it, was, That he would give to the Achæans both Argos and Corinth ; as also that he would render unto Attalus and the Rhodians what he had promised the day before ; likewise to the Ætolians, that he would grant some part of their demands ; and to the Romans whatsoever they did challenge. This when Titus's associates heard, they exclaimed against it, saying, That if the king were suffered to retain any thing in Greece, he would shortly get possession of all which he now rendered up. The noise that they made came to Philip's ear ; who thereupon desired

a third day of meeting, and protested, that if he could not persuade them, he would suffer himself to be persuaded by them. So the third day they met early in the morning; at what time the king entreated them all, that they would with sincere affection hearken unto good offers of peace, and immediately conclude it, if they could like well of those conditions which he had already tendered; or otherwise that they would make truce with him for the present, and let him send ambassadors to Rome, where he would refer himself to the courtesy of the senate.

This was even as Quintius would have it, who stood in doubt lest a new consul might happen to defraud him of the honour which he expected by ending of the war. So he easily prevailed with the rest to assent thereunto; forasmuch as it was winter, a time unfit for service in the war; and since, without authority of the senate, he should be unable to proceed resolvedly either in war or peace. Further, he willed them to send their several ambassadors to Rome, which, intimating unto the senate what each of them required, should easily hinder Philip from obtaining any thing to their prejudice. Among the rest, he persuaded king Aminander to make a journey to Rome, in person, knowing well, that the name of a king, together with the confluence of so many ambassadors, would serve to make his own actions more glorious in the city. All this tended to procure, that his own command of the army in Greece might be prorogued. And to the same end had he dealt with some of the tribunes of the people at Rome, who had already, (though as yet he knew not so much,) obtained it for him, partly by their authority, partly by good reasons which they alleged unto the senate.

The ambassadors of the Greeks, when they had audience at Rome, spoke bitterly against the king, with good liking of the senate, which was more desirous of victory than satisfaction. They magnified

the honourable purpose of the Romans, in undertaking to set Greece at liberty. But this, (they said,) could never be effected, unless especial care were taken that the king should be dispossessed of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias. In this point they were so vehement, producing a map of the country, and making demonstration how those places held all the rest in servility, that the senate agreed to have it even so as they had desired. When therefore the ambassadors of Philip were brought in, and began to have made a long oration, they were briefly cut off in the midst of their preface, with this one demand,—Whether their master would yield up Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias? Hereto they made answer, That concerning those places the king had given them no direction or commission what to say or do. This was enough. The senate would no longer hearken to Philip's desire of peace, wherein they said he did no better than trifle. Yet might his ambassadors have truly said, That neither the *Ætolians*, *Achæans*, nor any of their fellows, had in the late treaty required by name that Chalcis and Demetrias should be yielded up. For which of them indeed could make any claim to either of these towns? As for Corinth, whereto the *Achæans* had some right, (though their right were no better than that having stolen it from one Macedonian king in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by bargain unto another,) Philip had already condescended to give it back unto them. And this perhaps would have been alleged, even against the *Greeks*, in excuse of the king, by some of *T. Quintius's* friends, that so he might have had the honour to conclude the war if a successor had been decreed unto him. But since he was appointed to continue general, neither his friends at Rome nor he himself, after the return of the ambassadors into Greece cared to give ear to any talk of peace.

Philip, seeing that the Achæans had forsaken him, and joined with their common enemies, thought even to deal with them in the like manner, by reconciling himself unto Nabis, whom they hated most. There were not many years passed, since the Lacedæmonians under Cleomenes, with little other help than their own strength, had been almost strong enough both for the Macedonians and Achæans together : but now the condition of things was altered. Nabis's force consisted in a manner wholly in his mercenaries, for he was a tyrant, though stiling himself king. Yet he sorely vexed the Achæans, and therefore seemed unto Philip one likely to stand him in great stead, if he could be won. To this purpose, it was thought meet that the town of Argos, which could not otherwise be easily defended, should be consigned over into his hands ; in hope that such a benefit would serve to tie him fast unto the Macedonian. Philocles, the king's lieutenant, who was appointed to deal with Nabis, added further, that it was his master's purpose to make a strait alliance with the Lacedæmonian, by giving some daughters of his own in marriage unto Nabis's sons. This could not but be well taken. Yet Nabis made some scruple in accepting the town of Argos, unless by decree of the citizens themselves he might be called into it. Hereabout Philocles dealt with the Argives ; but found them so averse, that, in open assembly of the people, they detested the very name of the tyrant, with many railing words. Nabis hearing of this, thought he had thereby a good occasion to rob and fleece them. So he willed Philocles without more ado, to make over the town, which he was ready to receive. Philocles accordingly did let him, with his army, into it by night, and gave him possession of the strongest places therein. Thus dealt Philip with the Argives ; who, for very love, had forsaken the Achæans, to take his part. Early in the morning, the tyrant made him-

self master of all the gates. A few of the principal men, understanding how things went, fled out of the city at the first tumult: wherefore they were all banished, and their goods confiscated. The rest of the chief citizens that stayed behind, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their gold and silver; also a great imposition of money was laid upon all those that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were dismissed without more ado; but if any stood long upon the matter, or played the thieves, in purloining their own goods, they were put to the whip, and, besides loss of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done the tyrant began to make popular laws; namely, such as might serve to make him gracious with the rascally multitude; abrogating all debts, and dividing the lands of the rich among the poor. By such art of oppressing the great ones, it had been an old custom of tyrants to assure themselves of the vulgar for a time.

As soon as Nabis had gotten Argos, he sent the news to T. Quintius, and offered to join with him against Philip. Titus was glad of it; so as he took the pains to cross over the Straits into Peloponnesus, there to meet with Nabis. They had soon agreed, (though king Attalus, who was present with the consul, made some cavil touching Argos,) and the tyrant lent unto the Romans six hundred of his mercenaries of Crete; as also he agreed with the Achæans upon a truce for four months, reserving the final conclusion of peace between them until the war of Philip should be ended; which, after this, continued not long.

SECT. XIV.

The battle of Cynoscephalæ, wherein Philip was vanquished by T. Quintius.

TITUS QUINTIUS, as soon as he understood that he was appointed to have command of the army, without any other limitation of time than during the pleasure of the senate, made all things ready for diligent pursuit of the war. The like did Philip; who, having failed in his negociation of peace, and no less failed in his hopes of getting Nabis to be his friend in that war, meant afterwards wholly to rely upon himself.

Titus had in his army about twenty-six thousand¹, and Philip a proportionable number; but neither of them knew the others strength, or what his enemy intended to do. Only Titus heard that Philip was in Thessaly, and thereupon addressed himself to seek him out. They had like to have met unawares near unto the city of Pheræ, where the vant-couriers on both sides discovered each other, and sent word thereof unto their several captains; but neither of them were over-hasty to commit all to hazard upon so short a warning. The day following, each of them sent out three hundred horse, with as many light-armed foot, to make a better discovery. These met, and fought a long while, returning finally back into their several camps, with little advantage unto either side. The country about Pheræ was thick set with trees, and otherwise full of gardens and mud walls, which made it improper for service of the Macedonian phalanx; wherefore the king dislodged, intending to remove back unto Scotusa, in the frontier of Macedon, where he might be plentifully served with

¹ Plut. in vita T. Q. Flam.

all necessities. Titus conceived aright his meaning, and therefore purposed also to march thitherwards, were it only to waste the country. There lay between them a great ledge of hills, which hindered the one from knowing what course the other took. Nevertheless they encamped not far asunder both the first and the second night; though neither of them understood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempestuous, and forced each of them to take up his lodging where he found it by chance. Then sent they forth discoverers again, in greater number than before. These meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at first the Macedonians had the worse. But Philip anon sent in such a strong supply, that if the resistance of the Ætolians had not been desperate, the Romans, their fellows, had been driven back into their camp. Yet, all resistance notwithstanding, the Macedonians prevailed; so that Titus himself was fain to bring forth his legions, that were not a little discouraged by the defeat of all their horse, to animate those which were in flight.

It was altogether beside the king's purpose to put the fortune of a battle in trust that day, with so much of his estate as might thereon depend. But the news came to him thick and tumultuously, how the enemies fled, and how the day was his own; if he could use an occasion, the like whereof he should not often find. This caused him to alter his purpose; insomuch that he embattled his men, and climbed up those hills, which, for that the knops thereon had some resemblance unto dogs' heads, were called by a word signifying as much, *cynoscephalæ*. As soon as he was on the hill-top, it did him good to see that they of his own light-armature were busy in fight, almost at the very camp of the enemies, whom they had repelled so far. He had also liberty to chuse his ground, as might serve best his advantage; forasmuch as the Romans were quite

driven from all parts of the hill. But of this commodity he could make no great use, the roughness of the place among those dogs heads, as they were called, served nothing aptly for his phalanx. Nevertheless he found convenient room wherein to marshal the one part of his army, and gave order unto his captains to follow with the rest, embatteling them as they might. Whilst he was doing this, he perceived that his horsemen and light armature began to shrink, as being fallen upon the Roman legion, by force whereof they were driven to recoil. He sets forward to help them, and they no less hastily draw unto him for succour, having the Romans not far behind them.

As the legions began to climb the hill, Philip commanded those of his phalanx to charge their pikes, and entertain them. Here Titus found an extreme difficult piece of work; for this phalanx being a great square battle of armed pikes, like in all points to those which are now used in our modern wars; and being in like manner used as are ours, was not to be resisted by the Roman targetiers as long as the phalanx itself held together undissolved. The Macedonians were embattled in very close order, so that two of them stood opposite to one of the Romans; as also the pikes of the first rank had their points advanced two or three feet before their foreman. Wherefore it is no marvel if the Romans gave back, every one of them being troubled, (as it were,) with ten enemies at once, and not able to come nearer unto the next of them than a dozen foot or thereabouts. Titus finding this, and not knowing how to remedy it, was greatly troubled; for that still the phalanx bore down all which came in the way. But in the meanwhile he observed, that they which were appointed by Philip to make his left wing, were not able, through the much unevenness of the ground, to put themselves in order; so as either they kept their places on the hill tops, or else, (which was

worse,) upon desire either of beholding the pastime, or of seeming to be partakers in the work, run foolishly along by the side of their fellows which were occupied in fight.

Of this their disorder he made great and present use. He caused the right wing of his battle to march up the hill against these ill ordered troops, his elephants leading the way to increase the terror. The Macedonians were readier to dispute what should be done in such a case, than well advised what to do ; as having no one man appointed to command that part in chief. Indeed, if they should have done their best, it could not have served, since the ground whereon they stood made their weapons useless. For, let it be supposed that Philip, having twenty-six thousand in his army, (as he is said to have been equal to the enemy in number,) had four thousand horse, four thousand targetiers, and four thousand light-armed ; so shall there remain fourteen thousand pikes, whereof he himself had embattled the one half in a phalanx : the other half in the left wing, are they whom Quintius is ready now to charge. The phalanx having usually sixteen in file, must, when it consisted of seven thousand, have well near four hundred and forty in rank ; but four hundred would serve to make a front long enough ; the other forty, or thirty-seven files might be cut off, and reckoned in the number of the targetiers or light-armed. Allowing therefore, as Polybius doth¹, to every man of them three feet of ground, this front must have occupied twelve hundred foot, or two hundred and forty paces ; that is, very near a quarter of a mile in length. Such a space of open campaign, free from incumbrance of trees, ditches, hillocks, or the like impediments, that must of necessity disjoin this close battle of the phalanx, was not everywhere to be found. Here at Cynoscephalæ,

¹ Excerpt. à Polyb l. xvii.

Philip had so much room as would only suffice for the one half of his men ; the rest were fain to stand still, and look about them, being hindered from putting themselves in order, by the roughness of the dogs heads. But the Romans, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindered from coming up unto them ; nor found any difficulty in mastering those enemies, whose feet were in a manner bound by the discommodity of the place. The very first impression of the elephants caused them to give back ; and the coming on of the legions, to betake themselves unto flight. A Roman tribune, or colonel, seeing the victory on that part assured, left the prosecution of it unto others ; and being followed by twenty ensigns, or maniples, that is, (as they might fall out,) by some two thousand men, took in hand a notable piece of work, and mainly helpful to making of the victory complete. He considered that Philip, in pursuing the right wing of the Romans, was run on so far, as that himself, with his fellows, in mounting the hill to charge the left wing of the Macedonians, was already gotten above the king's head. Wherefore he turned to the left hand, and, making down the hill after the king's phalanx, fell upon it in the rear. The hindmost ranks of the phalanx, all of them indeed, save the first five, were accustomed, when the battles came to joining, to carry their pikes upright, and with the whole weight of their bodies to thrust on their foremen ; and so were they doing at the present. This was another great inconvenience in the Macedonian phalanx, that it served neither for offence nor defence, except only in front. For though it were so, that Alexander, when he was to fight with Darius in Mesopotamia, arranged his phalanx in such order that all the four sides of it were as so many fronts, looking sundry ways, because he expected that he should be encompassed round ; yet it is to be understood, that herein he altered the usual form ; as also, at the same

time, he embattled his men in loose order, that so with ease they might turn their weapons which way need should require. Likewise it is to be considered, that Alexander's men being thus disposed, were fit only to keep their own ground; not being able to follow upon the enemy, unless their hindmost ranks could have marched backwards. But in this present case of Philip there was no such provision for resistance. Therefore his men, being otherwise unable to help themselves, threw down their weapons and fled. The king himself had thought, until now, that the fortune of the battle was everywhere alike, and the day his own. But hearing a noise behind him, and turning a little aside, with a troop of horse, to see how all went, when he beheld his men casting down their weapons, and the Romans at his back on the higher ground, he presently betook himself to flight. Neither staid he afterwards in any place, (except only a small while about Tempe, there to collect such as were dispersed in this overthrow,) until he was gotten into his own kingdom of Macedon.

There died of the Roman army in this battle about seven hundred; of the Macedonians, about eight thousand were slain, and five thousand taken prisoners.

SECT. XV.

T. Quintius falleth out with the Ætolians, and grants truce unto Philip, with conditions, upon which the peace is ratified. Liberty proclaimed unto the Greeks. The Romans quarrel with Antiochus.

THE Ætolians wonderfully vaunted themselves, and desired to have it noised through all Greece, that the victory at Cynoscephalæ was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the most of the booty, by sacking the Macedonian camp whilst the Romans were busied in the chace. Titus, therefore, being offended, both at their vain-glory and at their ravenous condition, purposed to teach them better manners, by regarding them as slightly as they thought highly of themselves. He also well perceived, that, by using them with any extraordinary favour, he should greatly offend the rest of his confederates in Greece, who detested the Ætolians much more vehemently than ever they had done the Macedonians. But this displeasure broke not forth yet a while.

After the battle, Titus made haste unto Larissa, a city of Thessaly, which he presently took. Before his coming, Philip had sent thither one of his courtiers to burn all his letters and passages whatsoever in writing, betwixt him and others, of which many were there kept. It was well done of the king, that, among the cares of so much adversity, he forgot not to provide for the safety of his friends. Yet, by his thus doing, they of Larissa might well perceive that he gave them up as already lost. Wherefore we find not that they, or any of their neighbours, did make delay of opening their gates to Titus. At the same time the town of Leucas, bordering upon Acarna-

nia, was taken by the Roman fleet ; and very soon after, all the Acarnanians, a warlike nation, and in hatred of the Ætolians, ever true to Philip, gave up themselves unto the Romans, hearing of the victory at Cynoscephalæ. The Rhodians also were then in hand with the conquest of Peræa, a region of the continent over-against their island, whereof they had demanded restitution, in the late treaty of peace with Philip. They did herein more manly than any other of the Greeks ; forasmuch as they awaited not the good leisure of the Romans, but with an army of their own, and some help which they borrowed of the Achæans, and other their friends, gave battle to Dinocrates, the king's lieutenant, wherein they had the victory, and consequently recovered the whole province. It angered Philip worse than all this, that the Dardanians gathered courage out of his affliction, to invade his kingdom ; wasting and spoiling as if all had been abandoned to their discretion. This made him gather an army in all haste, of six thousand foot and five hundred horse ; wherewith coming upon them, he drove them, with little or no loss of his own, and great slaughter of theirs, hastily out of the kingdom. Which done, he returned to Thessalonica.

In this one enterprise he had success answerable to his desire ; but seeing what bad fortune accompanied his affairs in all other parts at the same time, he thought it wisdom to yield unto necessity ; and therefore sent in all haste Limnæus and Demosthenes, with Cycliades, the banished Achæan, in whom he reposed much confidence, ambassadors unto Titus. These had conference a long while in private with Titus, and some of his Roman colonels ; by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wise dismissed. It seems that they had commission to refer all unto Titus's own discretion, as Philip himself in few days after did. There was granted unto them a truce for fifteen days ; in which

time the king himself might come and speak with the Roman general. In the mean season, many suspicious rumours went of Titus, as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the king to betray the Greeks, his confederates. Of these bruits the Ætolians were chief authors; who, being wont to regard neither friendship nor honesty, where profit led them a wrong way, judged alike of all men else. But, against the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and Philip, Titus had sent letters unto his associates, willing them to have their agents ready by a time appointed, at the entrance of Tempe, where the treaty should be held. There, when they were all assembled, they entered into consultation before the king's arrival, what should be most expedient for the common benefit of them all, and for every estate in particular. The poor king, Aminander, besought them all, and especially the Romans, that they would think upon him, and, considering his weakness, which he confessed, make such provision, that, after the Romans had turned their backs, and were gone home, Philip might not wreak his anger upon him, who was not able to resist. Then spake Alexander, one of the Ætolians; who, commending Titus for so much as he had thus assembled the confederates to advise upon their own good, and had willed them to deliver their minds freely, added, that in the main of the purpose which he had in hand he was utterly deceived; for that, by making peace with Philip, he could neither assure the Romans of their quiet, nor the Greeks of their liberty. There was, he said, none other end to be made of the war, which could agree either with the purpose of the senate and people of Rome, or with the fair promises made by Titus himself unto the Greeks, than the chasing of Philip quite out of his kingdom. And to this effect he made a long discourse. But Titus answered, that this Ætolian was ill acquainted either with the good pleasure of the senate and

people of Rome, or with the laudable customs which they generally held; for that it was not the manner of the Romans to seek the utter destruction of any king or nation, at such time as they first made war with them; until, by some rebellion, they found it a matter of necessity to take such a rigorous course; and hereof he alleged the Carthaginians as a notable example; adding, that victory to generous minds was only an inducement unto moderation. As concerning the public benefit of Greece, it was (he said) expedient that the kingdom of Macedon should be greatly weakened and brought low; not that it should be utterly destroyed, forasmuch as it served as a bar to the Thracians, Gauls, and a multitude of other savage nations, which would soon overflow the whole continent of Greece, if this kingdom were not interposed. Wherefore, he concluded, that if Philip would yield unto those demands, wherewith he had pressed him in the former treaty, then was there no reason to deny him peace. As for the Ætolians, if they thought otherwise, it should be at their own pleasure to take counsel apart for themselves as they thought good. Then began Phaneas, another of the Ætolians, to say, that all was come to nothing; for that ere long Philip would trouble all the Greeks, no less than he had done in time before. But Titus interrupted him, and bade him leave his babbling, saying, that himself would take such order, as that Philip, were he never so desirous, should thenceforth not have it in his power to molest the Greeks.

The next day king Philip came thither, whom Titus used friendly; and suffering him to repose himself that night, held a council the day following, wherein the king yielded unto all that had been required at his hands; offering yet further, to stand to the good pleasure of the senate, if they would have more added to the conditions. Phaneas, the Ætolian, insulting over him, said it was to be hoped that he would then at length give up to the Ætolians as

many of the towns (which he there named), bidding him speak whether he would or not. His answer was, That they might take them all. But Titus interposing himself, said, it should be otherwise. These were Thessalonian towns, and should all be free, one of them only excepted, which not long ago had refused to commit itself to the faith of the Romans, and therefore should now be given to the Ætolians. Hereat Phaneas cried out, that it was too great an injury, thus to defraud them of the towns that had some time belonged unto the common-weal. Rather he willed Titus to consider, that by an ancient covenant between them and the Romans, all the towns taken ought to be their own, and the Romans to have nothing save the pillage and captives. It is true, that there had been such a condition in the former war, but it ceased to be of any validity as soon as the Ætolians made peace with Philip. And thus much Titus gave them to understand, asking them, whether they thought it reasonable that all the towns in Greece which had let in the Romans by composition should be delivered into subjection of the Ætolians? The rest of the confederates were very much delighted with these angry passages between the Roman and the Ætolians; neither had they great reason to fear any hard measure, since Titus was so earnest in behalf of those Thessalians to give them liberty, though they had stood out against him, even till very fear made them open their gates. Wherefore they opposed not themselves, but gave their consent willingly unto a truce for four months.

The chief cause that moved Titus to grant peace so readily to the Macedonian, besides that laudable custom by him before alledged, was the fame of Antiochus's coming with an army from Syria, and drawing near towards Europe. He had also, perhaps, yet a greater motive; even the consideration that his successor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the war should happen to be protracted.

And he was in the right ; for when his letters, together with ambassadors from the Macedonian, and sundry states of Greece came unto Rome, new consuls were chosen, who (especially the one of them) stood very earnestly against the peace, alledging frivolous matter of their own suspicion, in hope to get the honour of concluding the war. The senate began to be doubtfully affected, between the ambassadors of Philip offering to stand to whatsoever was demanded, and the letters of Titus pressing them to accept this offer, on the one side, and the importunity of the consul on the other ; who said that all these goodly shews were fraudulent, and that the king would rebel as soon as the army was called out of Greece. But the matter was taken out of the senators' hands by two of the tribunes, that referred it to an assembly of the people, by whose sovereign authority it was concluded that peace should be granted unto the king. So ten ambassadors were sent from Rome over into Greece, in which number were they that had been consuls before Titus ; and it was ordained by their advice, that Titus should go through with the business of peace. These would very fain have retained those three important cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, until the state of Greece were somewhat better settled. But finally, Titus prevailed so, that Corinth was, though not immediately, rendered unto the Achæans ; and all the other Greek towns which Philip held, as well in Asia as in Greece, restored unto liberty.

The conditions of the peace granted unto Philip were, That before the celebration of the next Isthmian Games¹, he should withdraw his garrisons out of all the Greek towns which he held, and consign them over to the Romans ; that he should deliver up unto them all captives that he had of theirs, and all renegadoes ; likewise all his ships of war, reserv-

¹ 2 Polyb. excerpt. Legat. 9.

ing to himself only five of the lesser sort, and one of extraordinary greatness, wherein sixteen men laboured at every oar ; further, that he should pay a thousand talents, the one half in hand, the other in ten years next following, by even portions. Hereto Livy adds², that he was forbidden to make war out of Macedon, without permission of the senate. But I find not that he observed this article, or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Four hundred talents he had already delivered unto Titus, together with his younger son Demetrius, to remain as hostage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, at such time as he lately sent his ambassadors to Rome, when it was promised that the money and his son should be restored back unto him, if the senate were not pleased with the agreement. Whether this money were reckoned as part of the thousand talents, I cannot find ; and it seemeth otherwise ; forasmuch as young Demetrius, who, together with those four hundred talents, was given as hostage, remained still in custody of the Romans, as a part of the bargain which Titus formerly had made. Letters also were then sent by Titus unto Prusias, king of Bithynia, giving him to understand what agreement was made with Philip in behalf of the Greeks ; and how the senate held it reasonable, that the Ciani, most miserably spoiled and oppressed by Philip, to gratify this Bithynian, his son-in-law, should be restored to liberty, and permitted to enjoy the same benefit of the Romans which other of their nation did. *What effect these letters wrought it was not greatly material, since the Romans were shortly busied with Antiochus, in such wise that they had not leisure to examine the conformity of Prusias to their will.

All Greece rejoiced at the good bargain which Titus had made with Philip ; only the Ætolians found themselves aggrieved that they were utterly

² Liv. l. xxxii.

neglected, which was to the rest no small part of their contentment. The Bœotians continued to favour the Macedonian, and thereby occasioned much trouble unto themselves. There were some among them well-affected to the Romans, who, seeing how things were like to go, made their complaint unto Titus, saying, that they were no better than lost for the good-will which they had borne unto him, unless at this time, when he lay close by them with his army, their prætor, which was head of the opposite faction, might be made away. Titus refused to have an hand in the execution; yet, nevertheless, did animate them in their purpose. So they committed the fact, and hoped to have kept themselves undiscovered. But when the murder came out, and somewhat was confessed by those who were put to torture, the hatred of the people broke out violently against the Romans; in such wise that, howsoever they durst not take arms against them, yet such of them as they found straggling from their camp, they murdered in all parts of the country. This was detected within a while, and many of the dead bodies found. Hereupon Titus requires of the Bœotians to have the murderers delivered into his hands; and for five hundred soldiers, which he had lost by them, to have paid unto him five hundred talents. Instead of making any such amends, they paid him with excuses, which he would not take as good satisfaction. He sends ambassadors to the Achæans and Athenians, informing them what had happened, and requested them not to take it amiss though he dealt with these their friends as they had deserved. Herewithal he falls to wasting their country, and besiegeth two such towns of theirs as did seem to be most culpable of the murders lately done. But the ambassadors of the Achæans and Athenians (especially of the Athenians who offered, if he needed them, to help him in this war, yet besought him rather to grant peace unto the Bœotians), prevailed so far with him, that he was

pacified with thirty talents, and the punishment of such as were known offenders.

In like sort, though not so violently, were many states of Greece distracted; some among them rejoicing that they were free from the Macedonian; others greatly doubting that the Roman would prove a worse neighbour. The Ætolians would have been glad of any commotion, and therefore published rumours abroad, that it was the purpose of the Romans to keep in their own hands all those places wherein Philip lately had his garrisons. Little did they, or the rest of the Greeks, conceive, that this Macedonian war served as an introduction to the war to be made in Asia against Antiochus, where grew the fruit that was to be reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore, to stay the progress of bad rumours, when the Isthmian Games were held, which, in time of peace were never without great solemnity and concourse, Titus, in that great assembly of all Greece, caused proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet to this effect,—That the senate and people of Rome, and Titus Quintius Flaminius, the general, having vanquished king Philip and the Macedonians, did will to be at liberty, free from impositions, free from garrisons, and living at their own laws, the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians, Eubœans, Achæans of Phthiotis, Magnetians, Thessalians, and Perrhebian. The suddenness of this proclamation astonished men; so as though they applauded it with a great shout, yet presently they cried out to hear it again, as if they durst scarce credit their own ears. The Greeks were crafts-masters in the art of giving thanks, which they rendered now to T. Quintius with so great affection as that they had well near smothered him by thronging officiously about him.

This good-will of the Greeks was like to be much more available to the Romans in their war against Antiochus, than could have been the possession of a few towns, yea, or of all those provinces which were

named in the proclamation. Upon confidence hereof, no sooner were these Isthmian games at an end, than Titus, with the Romans that were of his council, gave audience to Hagesianax and Lysias, king Antiochus's ambassadors, whom they willed to signify unto their lord, that he should do well to abstain from the free cities in Asia, and not vex them with war; as also to restore whatsoever he had occupied belonging to the kings Ptolemy and Philip. Moreover, they willed him, by these his ambassadors, that he should not pass over his army into Europe; adding, that some of them would visit him in person ere it were long, to talk with him further concerning these points. This done, they fell to accomplishing their promises unto the Greeks; to the rest they gave what they had promised. But the Phocians and Locrians they gave unto the Ætolians, whom they thought it no wisdom to offend over-much, being shortly to take a greater work in hand. The Achæans of Phthiotis they annexed unto the Thessalians, all save the town of Thebes in Phthiotis, the same which had been abandoned by T. Quintius to the Ætolians in the last treaty with Philip. The Ætolians contended very earnestly about Pharsalus and Leucas; but they were put off with a dilatory answer, and rejected unto the senate; for howsoever somewhat the council might favour them, yet it was not meet that they should have their will, as it were in despite of Titus. To the Athenians were restored Corinth, Triphylia, and Herea. So the Corinthians were made free indeed, (though the Romans yet a while kept the Acrocorinthus), for that all which were partakers of the Achæan commonwealth enjoyed their liberty in as absolute manner as they could desire. To Pleuratus, the Illyrian, were given one or two places taken by the Romans from Philip; and upon Aminander were bestowed those castles which he had gotten from Philip during this war, to reign in them, and the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his Atha-

manians. The Rhodians had been their own carvers. Attalus was dead a little before the victory, and therefore lost his share. Yet many that were with Titus in council, would have given the towns of Oreum and Eretria, in the isle of Eubœa, to his son and successor king Eumenes. But, finally, it was concluded, that these, as well as the rest of the Eubœans, should be suffered to enjoy their liberty. Orestis, a little province of the kingdom of Macedon, bordering on Epirus, and lying towards the Ionian sea, had yielded unto the Romans long ere this, and since continued true to them; for which cause it was set at liberty, and made a free estate by itself.

These businesses being dispatched, it remained that all care should be used, not how to avoid the war with king Antiochus, but how to accomplish it with most ease and prosperity. Wherefore ambassadors were sent both to Antiochus himself, to pick matter of quarrel, and about unto others, to pre-dispose them unto the assisting of the Romans therein. What ground and matter of war against this king the Romans now had, or shortly after found, as also how their ambassadors and agents dealt and sped abroad, I refer unto another place.

CHAP. V.

THE WARS OF THE ROMANS WITH ANTIOCHUS THE
GREAT, AND HIS ADHERENTS.

SECT. I.

What kings, of the races of Seleucus and Ptolemy, reigned in Asia and Egypt before Antiochus the Great.

SELEUCUS NICATOR¹, the first of his race, king of Asia and Syria, died in the end of the hundred twenty and fourth olympiad. He was treacherously slain by Ptolemy Ceraunus, at an altar called Argos; having (as is said) been warned before by an oracle to beware of Argos, as the fatal place of his death. But I never have read, that any man's life hath been preserved, or any mischance avoided, by the predictions of such devilish oracles. Rather I believe, that many such predictions of the heathen gods have been antedated by their priests, or by others, which devised them after the event.

Antiochus Soter, the son and heir of this Seleucus, was dearly beloved of his father; who surrendered up unto him his own wife Stratonica, when he

¹ Polyb. lib. ii.

understood how much the young prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore, Ptolemy Ceraunus had great cause to fear, that the death of Seleucus would not be unrevengeed by this his successor. But Antiochus was contented to be pacified, either with gifts, or perhaps only with fair words, containing himself within Asia, and letting Ceraunus enjoy that quietly, which he had purchased in Europe with the blood of Seleucus. It is said of this Antiochus, that although he married with the queen Stratonica in his father's life, yet, out of modesty, he forebore to embrace her till his father was dead. So that, perhaps, his incestuous love was partly, if not chiefly, the cause of his not prosecuting that revenge whereunto nature should have urged him. Afterwards he had wars with Antigonus Gonatas, and with Nicomedes, king of Bithynia; also, Lutarius and Leonorius, kings or captains of the Gauls, were set upon him by the said Nicomedes. With these he fought a great battle; wherein, though otherwise the enemy had all advantage against him, yet by the terror of his elephants, which affrighted both their horses and them, he won the victory. He took in hand an enterprise against Ptolemy Philadelphus; but finding ill success in the beginning, he soon gave it over. To this king, Antiochus Soter, it was, that Berosus, the Chaldæan, dedicated his history of the kings of Assyria^a; the same which hath since been excellently falsified by the friar Annius. He left behind him one son, called Antiochus Theos, and one daughter called Apame, that was married unto the king of Cyrene. So he died about the end of the hundred twenty and ninth olympiad, or the beginning of the olympiad following; in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth year of the kingdom of the Greeks, when he had reigned nineteen years.

Antiochus, surnamed *Theos*, or *the God*, had this

^a Genebrard, lib. ii. Just. Mart. in Parren.

vain and impious title given unto him by flattery of the Milesians, whom he delivered from Timarchus, a tyrant that oppressed them. He held long and difficult, but fruitless war, with Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife Berenice the daughter of Ptolemy.

Of these two kings, and of this lady, Berenice, St Jerome, and other interpreters, have understood that prophecy of Daniel: ‘ The king’s daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north, to make an agreement ³;’ and that which followeth.

Ptolemy Philadelphus was a great lover of peace and learning; and (setting apart his incestuous marriage with his own sister Arsinoe) a very excellent prince: howsoever, the worthiest of all that race. It was he that built and furnished with books that famous library in Alexandria; which to adorn, and to honour the more, he sent unto Eleazar, then high priest of the Jews, for the books of Moses and other scriptures. The benefits of this king unto the Jews had formerly been very great; for he had set at liberty as many of them as his father held in slavery throughout all Egypt; and he had sent unto the temple of God in Jerusalem very rich presents ⁴. Wherefore Eleazar, yielding to the king’s desire, presented him with an Hebrew copy; which Ptolemy caused to be translated into Greek, by seventy-two of the most grave and learned persons that could be found among all the tribes. In this number of the seventy-two interpreters, or (as they are commonly called) the *Seventy*, Jesus, the son of Sirach, is thought by Genebrard to have been one; who that he lived in this age, it seems to me very sufficiently proved by Janesinus, in his preface unto Ecclesiasticus. The whole passage of this business between Philadelphus and the high priest was written (as Josephus affirms)

³ Dan. c. 11. v. 6. ⁴ Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. xviii. c. 42.

by Aristæus that was employed therein⁵. Forty years Ptolemy Philadelphus was king; reckoning the time wherein he jointly reigned with his father. He was exceedingly beloved of his people; and highly magnified by poets and other writers. Towards his end he grew more voluptuous than he had been in his former years; in which time he boasted, that he alone had found out the way how to live for ever. If this had been referred unto his honourable deeds, it might have stood with reason; otherwise, the gout, with which he was often troubled, was enough to teach him his own error. He was the first of the kings, derived from Alexander's successors, that entered into league with the Romans; as also his offspring was the last among the royal families which by them was rooted out.

Antiochus Theos had another wife, called Laodice, at such time as he married with Berenice the daughter of this Ptolemy. After his second marriage, he used his first wife with no better regard than if she had been his concubine. Laodice hated him for this; yet adventured not to seek revenge, until her own son Seleucus Callinicus was of ability to be king. This was two or three years after the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, at what time she poisoned her husband Theos; and, by permission of Seleucus her son, murdered Berenice, together with a son she had born to Antiochus. Justin reports⁶, that Berenice saved herself, together with the young prince her child; awhile in the sanctuary at Daphne; and that not only some cities of Asia prepared to succour her, but her brother Ptolemy Evergetes, king of Egypt, came to rescue her with an army, though too late, for she was slain before.

⁵ Jos. Ann l. xii. c. 2. Concerning that book which now goes under the name of Aristæus; many learned men, and among the rest Lodovicus Vives, hold suspicion that it is counterfeit, and the invention of some late author. Surely if it were to be suspected in the time of Vives, it may be now much more justly suspected, since a new edition of it is come forth, purged from faults, (as the papists term those books wherein they have changed what they please,) and set forth by Middendorpius at Colen. An. Dom. 1578. ⁶ Just. l. xxvii,

With such cruelties Seleucus Callinicus, succeeding unto his father, that had fifteen years been king, began his reign. His subjects were highly offended at his wicked nature, which they discovered at his first entrance. Wherefore it was like that his estate would have been much endangered, if Ptolemy Evergetes, who came against him, had not been drawn back into his own country by some commotions there in hand. For there were none that would bear arms against Ptolemy in defence of their own king; but rather they sided with the Egyptian, who took Laodice the king's mother and rewarded her with death, as she had well deserved. Wherefore Seleucus, being freed from this invasion, by occasion of those domestical troubles which recalled Evergetes home into Egypt, went about a dangerous piece of work, even to make war upon his own subjects, because of their bad affection towards him; when as it had been much better, by well deserving, to have changed their hatred into love. A great fleet he prepared; in furnishing and manning whereof he was at such charges that he scarce left himself any other hope if that should miscarry. Herein he embarked himself, and putting to sea met with such a tempest as devoured all, save himself and a very few of his friends that hardly escaped. This calamity, having left him nothing else in a manner than his naked body, turned nevertheless to his great good, as anon after it seemed. For when his subjects understood in what sort the gods (as they conceived it) had punished him for his offences, they had commiseration of his estate; and presuming that he would thenceforth become a new man, offered him their service with great alacrity. This revived him, and filled him with such spirit, as thinking himself well enough able to deal with the Egyptian, he made ready a mighty army for that purpose. But his fortune was no better at land than it had been at sea. He was vanquished by

Ptolemy in a great battle ; whence he escaped hardly, no better attended than after his late shipwreck. Hasting therefore back to Antioch, and fearing that the enemy would soon be at his heels, he wrote unto his brother Antiochus Hierax, who lay then in Asia, praying him to bring succour with all speed ; and promising, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the dominion of a great part of Asia. Antiochus was then but fourteen years old, yet extremely ambitious ; and therefore glad of such an occasion to make himself great. He levied a mighty army of the Gauls ; wherewith he set forward to help his brother, or rather to get what he could for himself. Hereof Ptolemy being advertised, and having no desire to put himself in danger more than needed, took truce with Seleucus for ten years. No sooner was Seleucus freed from this care of the Egyptian war, but his brother Antiochus came upon him, and needs would fight with him, as knowing himself to have the better army. So Seleucus was vanquished again, and saved himself with so few about him, that he was verily supposed to have perished in the battle. Thus did God's justice take revenge of those murders by which the crown was purchased, and settled (as might have been thought) on the head of this bloody king. Antiochus was very glad to hear of his brother's death, as if thereby he had purchased his heart's desire ; but the Gauls, his mercenaries, were gladder than he. For when he led them against Eumenes, king of Pergamus, being in hopes to get honour by making a conquest in the beginning of his reign, these perfidious barbarians took counsel against him, and devised how to strip him of all that he had. They thought it very likely, that if there were none of the royal house to make head against them, it would be in their power to do what should best be pleasing unto themselves in the Lower Asia. Wherefore they laid hands on Antiochus, and enforced him to ransom himself with

money, as if he had been their lawful prisoner. Neither were they so contented, but made him enter into such composition with them as tended but little to his honour. In the meanwhile Seleucus had gathered a new army, and prepared once more to try his fortune against his brother. Eumenes hearing of this, thought the season fit for himself to make his profit of their discord. Antiochus fought with him, and was beaten; which is no great marvel, since he had great reason to stand in no less fear of the Gauls, his own soldiers, than of the enemy with whom he had to deal. After this, Eumenes won much in Asia, whilst Antiochus went against his brother. In the second battle fought between the brethren, Seleucus had the upper hand; and Antiochus Hierax, or the *Hawk*, (which surname was given him, because he sought his prey upon every one, without care whether he were provoked or not,) soared away as far as he could, both from his brother and his own Gauls. Having fetched a great compass through Mesopotamia and Armenia, he fell at length into Cappadocia, where his father-in-law, king Artamanes, took him up. He was entertained very lovingly in outward shew, but with a meaning to betray him. This he soon perceived, and therefore betook him to his wings again, though he knew not well which way to bend his flight. At length he resolved to bestow himself upon Ptolemy; his own conscience telling him what evil he had meant unto Seleucus his brother, and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infidelity can find no sure harbour. Ptolemy well understood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this Hierax. Wherefore he laid him up in close prison; whence though, by means of an harlot, he got out, yet flying from his keepers he fell into the hands of thieves, by whom he was murdered. Near about the same time died Seleucus. The Parthians and Bactrians had rebelled against him, dur-

ing his wars with his brother. He therefore made a journey against Arsaces, founder of the Parthian kingdom; wherein his evil fortune, or rather God's vengeance, adhered so closely to him, that he was taken prisoner. Arsaces dealt friendly with him, and dismissed him, having every way given him royal entertainment; but, in returning home, he broke his neck by a fall from his horse, and so ended his unhappy reign of twenty years. He had to wife Laodice, the sister of Andromachus, one of his most trusty captains, which was father unto that Achæus, who, making his advantage of this affinity, became shortly after (as he stiled himself) a king; though rather indeed a great troubler of the world in those parts. By Laodice he had two sons; Seleucus the third, surnamed Ceraunus, and Antiochus the third, called afterwards the Great.

Seleucus Ceraunus reigned only three years; in which time he made war upon Attalus the first, that was king of Pergamus. Being weak of body, through sickness, and in want of money, he could not keep his men of war in good order; and finally, he was slain by the treason of Nicanor, and Apaturius, a Gaul. His death was revenged by Achæus, who slew the traitors, and took charge of the army, which he ruled very wisely and faithfully a while; Antiochus, the brother of Seleucus, being then a child.

SECT. II.

The beginning of the great Antiochus's reign. Of Ptolemy Evergetes, and Philopater, kings of Egypt. War between Antiochus and Philopater. The rebellion of Molo ; and expedition of Antiochus against him. The re-continuance of Antiochus's Egyptian war ; with the passages between the two kings ; the victory of Ptolemy ; and peace concluded. Of Achæus, and his rebellion ; his greatness, and his fall. Antiochus's expedition against the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians. Somewhat of the kings reigning in India, after the death of the Great Alexander.

ANTIOCHUS was scarcely fifteen years old when he began his reign, which lasted thirty-six years. In his minority he was wholly governed by one Hermias, an ambitious man, and one which maligned all virtue that he found in any of the king's faithful servants. This vile quality in a counsellor of such great place, how harmful it was unto his lord, and finally unto himself, the success of things will shortly discover.

Soon after the beginning of Antiochus's reign, Ptolemy Evergetes, king of Egypt, died ; and left his heir, Ptolemy Philopater, a young boy likewise, as hath elsewhere been remembered. This was that Evergetes who relieved Arratus and the Achæans ; who afterwards took part with Cleomenes, and lovingly entertained him when he was chased out of Greece by Antigonus Gonatas. He annexed unto his dominion the kingdom of Cyrene, by taking to wife Berenice, the daughter of king Magas. He was the third of the Ptolemies, and the last good king of the race. The name of Evergetes, or *the doer of good*, was given to him by the Egyptians ; not so

much for the great spoils which he brought home, after his victories in Syria, as for that he recovered some of those images or idols which Cambyses, when he conquered Egypt, had carried into Persia. He was ready to have made war upon the Jews, for that Onias, their high-priest, out of mere covetousness of money, refused to pay unto him his yearly tribute of twenty talents; but he was pacified by the wisdom of Josephus, a Jew; to whom afterwards he let in farm the tributes and customs that belonged unto him, in those parts of Syria which he held. For Cœlosyria, with Palestina, and all those parts of the country that lay nearest unto Egypt, were held by the Egyptian; either as having fallen to the share of Ptolemy the first, at such time as the great Antigonus was vanquished and slain in the battle at Ipsus, or as being won by this Evergetes in the troublesome and unhappy reign of Seleucus Callinicus. The victories of this Evergetes in Syria, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding ages between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ, were all foretold by Daniel, in the prophecy before cited, which is expounded by St. Jerome. This Ptolemy Evergetes reigned six and twenty years, and died towards the end of the hundred thirty and ninth olympiad. It may seem by that which we find in the prologue unto Jesus the son of Sirach's book, that he should have reigned a much longer time. For Siracides there saith, that he came into Egypt in the eight and thirtieth year, when Evergetes was king. It may therefore be, that either this king reigned long together with his father; or that those eight and thirty years were the years of Jesus's own age; if not perhaps reckoned, (as the Jews did otherwhiles reckon) from some notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of Evergetes, Hermias, the counsellor, and in a manner the protector of king Antiochus, incited his lord unto war against

the Egyptian, for the recovery of Coelosyria and the countries adjoining. This council was very unseasonably given; when Molo, the king's lieutenant in Media, was broken out into rebellion, and sought to make himself absolute lord of that rich country. Nevertheless Hermias, being more forward than wise, maintained stiffly, that it was most expedient, and agreeable with the king's honour, to send forth against a rebellious captain other captains that were faithful; whilst he in person made war upon one that was, like himself, a king. No man durst gainsay the resolution of Hermias; who therefore sent Xenoctas, an Achæan, with such forces as he thought expedient, against the rebel; whilst, in the mean season, an army was preparing for the king's expedition into Coelosyria. The king having marched from Apamea to Laodicea, and so over the deserts into the valley of Marsyas, between the mountains of Libanus and Antilibanus, found his way there stopped by Theodotus an Ætolian, that served under Ptolemy. So he consumed the time there awhile to none effect; and then came news that Xenoctas, his captain, was destroyed with his whole army; and Molo thereby become lord of all the country, as far as unto Babylon.

Xenoctas, whilst he was yet on his journey, and drew near to the river of Tigris, received many advertisements by such as fled over unto him from the enemy, that the followers of Molo were, for the most part against their wills, drawn by their commander to bear arms against their king. The report was not altogether false; but Molo himself stood in some doubt lest his followers would leave him in time of necessity. Xenoctas, therefore, making shew as if he had prepared to pass the river by boats in face of his enemy, left in the night-time such as he thought meet to defend his camp; and with all the flower of his army went over Tigris, in a place ten miles lower than Molo's camp. Molo heard of this,

and sent forth his horse to give impediment: but hearing that Xencetas could not be so stopped, he himself dislodged, and took his journey towards Media, leaving all his baggage behind him in his camp. Whether he did this, as distrusting the faith of his own soldiers, or whether thereby to deceive his enemy, the great folly of Xencetas made his stratagem prosperous. For Xencetas, having borne himself proudly before, upon the countenance of Hermias, by whom he was advanced unto this charge, did now presume that all should give way unto his authority, without putting him to much trouble of using the sword. Wherefore he suffered his men to feast with the provisions which they found ready in the forsaken camp; or rather he commanded them so to do, by making proclamation, That they should cherish up themselves against the journey which he intended to take next day, in pursuit of the rebels that fled. And to the same purpose he busied himself in transporting the remainder of his army, which he had left on the other side of Tigris. But Molo went no further that day than he could easily return the same night. Wherefore, understanding what good rule the king's men kept, he made such haste back unto them, that he came upon them early in the morning, whilst they were yet heavy with the wine and other good cheer that they had spent at supper. So Xencetas, and a very few with him, died fighting in defence of the camp; the rest were slaughtered without making resistance, and many of them ere they were perfectly awake. Likewise the camp on the other side of Tigris was easily taken by Molo; the captains flying thence to save their own lives. In the heat of this victory, the rebel marched into Seleucia, which he presently took; and, mastering within a little while the province of Babylonia, and all the country down to the Red Sea, or bay of Persia, he hasted unto Susa, where, at his first coming, he won the city; but, failing to

take the castle, that was exceeding strong, returned back to Seleucia, there to give order concerning this business.

The report of these things coming to Antiochus, whilst he lay (as is said before) in the vale of Marsyas, filled him with great sorrow, and his camp with trouble. He took counsel what to do in this needful case; and was well advised by Epigenes, the best man of war he had about him, to let alone this enterprise of Cælosyria, and bend his forces thither, where more need required them. This counsel was put in execution with all convenient haste. Yet was Epigenes dismissed by the way, and soon after slain, by the practice of Hermias, who could not endure to hear good counsel given, contrary to his own good-liking and allowance. In the journey against Molo, the name and presence of the king was more available than any odds which he had of the rebel in strength. Molo distrusted his own followers, and thought that neither his late good success, or any other consideration, would serve to hold them from returning to the king's obedience, if once they beheld his person. Wherefore he thought it safest for him to assail the king's camp in the nighttime. But going in hand with this, he was discovered by some that fled over from him to the king. This caused him to return back to his camp, which, by some error, took alarm at his return, and was hardly quieted when Antiochus appeared in sight. The king was thus forward in giving battle to Molo, upon confidence which he had that many would revolt unto him. Neither was he deceived in this his belief. For not a few men, or ensigns, but all the left wing of the enemy, which was opposite unto the king, changed side forthwith as soon as ever they had sight of the king's person, and were ready to do him service against Molo. This was enough to have won the victory; but Molo shortened the work, by killing himself; as did also divers of his friends, who, for

fear of torments, prevented the hangman with their own swords.

After this victory came joyful news, that the queen Laodice, daughter of Mithridates king of Pontus, which was married unto Antiochus a while before, had brought forth a son. Fortune seemed bountiful unto the king; and therefore he purposed to make what use he could of her friendly disposition while it lasted. Being now in the eastern parts of his kingdom, he judged it convenient to visit his frontiers, were it only to terrify the barbarians that bordered upon him. Hereunto his counsellor Hermias gave assent; not so much respecting the king's honour, as considering what good might thereby happen to himself. For if it should come to pass, that the king were taken out of the world by any casualty, then made he no doubt of becoming protector to the young prince, and thereby of lengthening his own government. Antiochus, therefore, went against Artabazanes, who reigned among the Atropatians, having the greatest part of his kingdom situated between the Caspian and Euxine sea. This barbarous king was very old and fearful; and therefore yielded unto whatsoever conditions it pleased Antiochus to lay upon him. So in this journey Antiochus got honour, such as well contented him, and then returned homewards. Upon the way, a physician of his broke with him as concerning Hermias; informing him truly, how odious he was unto the people, and how dangerous he would be shortly unto the king's own life. Antiochus believed this, having long suspected the same Hermias, but not daring, for fear of him, to utter his suspicions. It was therefore agreed, that he should be made away on the sudden; which was done; he being trained forth by a slight a good way out of the camp, and there killed without warning or disputation. The king needed not to have used so much art in ridding his hands of a man so much detested. For howso-

ever he seemed gracious whilst he was alive, yet they that for fear had been most obsequious to him whilst he was in case to do them hurt, were as ready as the foremost to speak of him as he had deserved, when once they were secure of him. Yea, his wife and children, lying then at Apamea, were stoned to death by the wives and children of the citizens, whose indignation broke forth the more outrageously the longer that it had been concealed.

About these times, Achæus (of whom we spake before) thinking that Antiochus might happen to perish in some of these expeditions which he took in hand, was bold to set a diadem upon his own head, and take upon him as a king. His purpose was to have invaded Syria; but the fame of Antiochus's returning thitherwards, made him quit the enterprise, and study to set some handsome colour on his former presumption. It is very strange, that Antiochus neither went against Achæus, nor yet dissembled the notice which he had taken of these his traitorous purposes; but wrote unto him, signifying that he knew all, and upbraiding him with such infidelity, as any offender might know to be unpardonable. By these means he emboldened the traitor, who, being already detected, might better hope to maintain his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them, or get pardon by submission. Antiochus had at that time a vehement desire to recover Coelosyria, or what else he could, of the dominions of Ptolemy Philopater in those parts. He began with Seleucia, a very strong city near unto the mouth of the river Orontes, which ere long he won, partly by force, partly by corrupting with bribes the captains that lay therein. This was that Seleucia, whereto Antigonus the Great, who founded it, gave the name of Antigonía; but Seleucus, getting it shortly after, called it Seleucia; and Ptolemy Evergetes having lately won it, might, if it had so pleased him, have changed the name into Ptolemæis. Such is the vanity of men that hope to

purchase an endless memorial unto their names, by works proceeding rather from their greatness, than from their virtue; which therefore no longer are their own, than the same greatness hath continuance. Theodotus the Etolian, he that before had opposed himself to Antiochus, and defended Coelosyria in the behalf of Ptolemy, was now grown sorry that he had used so much faith and diligence in service of an unthankful and luxurious prince. Wherefore, as a mercenary, he began to have regard unto his own profit; which thinking to find greater, by applying himself unto him that was (questionless) the more worthy of these two kings, he offered to deliver up to Antiochus the cities of Tyrus and Ptolemais. Whilst he was devising about this treason, and had already sent messengers to king Antiochus, his practice was detected, and he besieged in Ptolemais by one of Ptolemy's captains that was more faithful than himself. But Antiochus, hasting to his rescue, vanquished this captain, who met him on the way, and afterwards got possession, not only of Tyrus and Ptolemais, with a good fleet of the Egyptian kings, that was in those havens, but of so many other towns in that country, as emboldened him to think upon making a journey into Egypt itself. Agathocles and Sosibius bore all the sway in Egypt at that time; Ptolemy himself being loth to have his pleasures interrupted with business of so small importance as the safety of his kingdom. Wherefore these two agreed together to make provision as hastily, and yet as secretly as might be, for the war; and nevertheless, at the same time, to press Antiochus with daily ambassadors to some good agreement. There came in the heat of this business, ambassadors from Rhodes, Bizantium, and Cyzicus, as likewise from the Etolians, according to the usual courtesy of the Greeks, desiring to take up the quarrel. These were all entertained in Memphis, by Agathocles and Sosibius, who entreated them to deal effectually with Antio-

thus. But whilst this treaty lasted, great preparations were made at Alexandria for the war; wherein these two counsellors persuaded themselves reasonably, that the victory would be their own, if they could get, for money, a sufficient number of the Greeks to take their parts. Antiochus heard only what was done at Memphis, and how desirous the governors of Egypt were to be at quiet; whereunto he gave the readier belief, not only for that he knew the disposition of Ptolemy, but because the Rhodians, and other ambassadors coming from Memphis, discoursed unto him all after one manner, as being all deceived by the cunning of Agathocles and his fellow. Antiochus, therefore, having wearied himself at the long siege of a town called Duræ, which he could not win; and being desirous to refresh himself and his army in Seleucia, during the winter, which then came on, granted unto the Egyptian a truce for four months, with promise that he would be ready to hearken unto equal conditions when they should be offered. It was not his meaning to be so courteous as he would fain have seemed, but only to lull his enemies asleep, whilst he took time to refresh himself, and to bring Achæus to some good order, whose treason daily grew more open and violent. The same negligence which he thought the Egyptian would have used, he used himself; as presuming that when time of the year better served, little force would be needful; for that the towns would voluntarily yield unto him, since Ptolemy provided not for their defence. Nevertheless he gave audience to the ambassadors, and had often conference with those that were sent out of Egypt, pleasing himself well to dispute about the justice of his quarrel; which he purposed shortly to make good by the sword, whether it were just or no. He said, that it was agreed between Seleucus his ancestor, and Ptolemy the son of Lagi, That all Syria if they could win it from Antigonus, should be given in possession to Seleucus;

and that this bargain was afterwards ratified by general consent of all the confederates after the battle at Ipsus. But Ptolemy's men would acknowledge no such bargain. They said, that Ptolemy the son of Lagi, had won Coelosyria and the provinces adjoining for himself; as also that he had sufficiently gratified Seleucus, by lending him forces to recover his province of Babylon, and the countries about the river of Euphrates. Thus whilst neither of them greatly cared for peace, they were in the end of their disputation as far from concluding as at the beginning. Ptolemy demanded restitution; Antiochus thought that he had not as yet gotten all that was his own: also Ptolemy would needs have Achæus comprehended in the league between them, as one of their confederates; but Antiochus would not endure to hear of this, exclaiming against it as a shameful thing that one king should offer to deal so with another, as to take his rebel into protection, and seek to join him in confederacy with his own sovereign lord. When the truce was expired, and Antiochus prepared to take the field again, contrary to his expectation, he was informed, that Ptolemy with a very puissant army was coming up against him out of Egypt. Setting forward therefore to meet with the enemy, he was encountered on the way by those captains of Ptolemy, that had resisted him the year before. They held against him the passages of Libanus, whence nevertheless he drove them; and proceeding onward in his journey, won so many places that he greatly increased his reputation, and thereby drew the Arabians, with divers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two kings drew near together, many captains of Ptolemy forsook his pay, and fled over to Antiochus. This notwithstanding, the Egyptian had the courage to meet his enemy in the field. The battle was fought at Raphia, where it was not to be decided whether the Egyptians or Asiatics were the bet-

ter soldiers; (for that the strength of both armies consisted in mercenaries, chiefly of the Greeks, Thracians, and Gauls,) but whether of the kings was the more fortunate. Ptolemy, with Arsinoe his sister and wife, rode up and down encouraging his men; the like did Antiochus on the other side; each of them rehearsing the brave deeds of their ancestors, as not having of their own whereby to value themselves. Antiochus had the more elephants; as also his being of Asia, had they been fewer, would have beaten those of Africa. Wherefore by the advantage of these beasts, he drove the enemies before him, in that part of the battle wherein he fought himself. But Ptolemy had the better men; by whose valour he broke the gross of his enemies' battle, and won the victory, whilst Antiochus was heedlessly following upon those, whom he had compelled to retire. Antiochus had brought into the field above seventy thousand foot, and six thousand horse, whereof though he lost scarce ten thousand foot, and not four hundred horse, yet the fame of his overthrow took from him all those places which he lately won. When therefore he was returned home to Antioch, he began to stand in fear, lest Ptolemy and Achæus, setting upon him both at once, should put him in danger of his whole estate. This caused him to send ambassadors to the Egyptian to treat of peace, which was readily granted; it being much against the nature of Ptolemy to vex himself thus with the tedious business of war. So Ptolemy, having staid three months in Syria, returned home into Egypt, clad with the reputation of a conqueror, to the great admiration of his subjects, and of all those that were acquainted with his voluptuous and slothful condition.

Achæus was not comprised in the league between these two kings; or if he had been included therein, yet would not the Egyptian have taken the pains of making a second expedition for his sake. The

best was, that he thought himself strong enough, if fortune were not too much against him, to deal with Antiochus. Neither was he confident without great reason. For besides his many victories, whereby he had gotten all that belonged unto Antiochus on this side of Taurus, he had also good success against Attalus king of Pergamus, that was an able man of war, and commanded a strong army. Neither was he, as Molo the rebel had been, one of mean regard otherwise, and carried beyond himself by apprehending the vantage of some opportunity; but cousin-german to the king, as hath been shewed before; and now lately the king's brother-in-law, by taking to wife a younger daughter of the said Mithridates king of Pontus, which was also called Laodice, as was her sister the queen, Antiochus's wife. These things had added majesty unto him, and had made his followers greatly to respect him, even as one to whom a kingdom was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, that king Ptolemy of Egypt held him in the nature of a friend; and that king Antiochus was now lately vanquished in the battle of Raphia, and had thereby lost all his gettings in Syria. But all these hopes and likelihoods came to nothing. For the king of Pontus, if he would meddle in that quarrel between his son-in-law, had no reason to take part against the more honourable. As for the Egyptian, he was not only slothful, but hindered by a rebellion of his own subjects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of Egypt, of whom Ptolemy, contrary to the manner of his progenitors, had armed a great number to serve in the late expedition, began to entertain a good opinion of their own valour, thinking it not inferior to the Macedonian. Hereupon they refused to suffer as much as formerly they had done; since they less esteemed, than they had done, the force of the king's mercenary Greeks, which had hitherto kept them in strait subjection. Thus broke out a war between the king

and his subjects: wherein though the ill guided force of the multitude was finally broken, yet king Ptolemy thereby wasted much of his strength, and much of his time, that might have been spent, as he thought, much better in revelling, or, as others thought, in succouring Achæus.

As for Antiochus, he had no sooner made his peace with the Egyptian, than he turned all his care to the preparation of war against Achæus. To this purpose he entered into league with Attalus, that so he might distract the forces of his rebel, and find him work on all sides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were such, that within a while he had pent up Achæus into the city of Sardes, where he held him about two years besieged. The city was very strong, and well victualled, so as there appeared not, when the second year came, any greater likelihood of taking it than in the first year's siege. In the end, one Lagoras, a Cretan, found means how to enter the town. The castle itself was upon a very high rock, and in a manner impregnable; as also the town-wall adjoining to the castle, in that part which was called the Saw, was in like manner situated upon steep rocks, and hardly accessible, that hung over a deep bottom, whereinto the dead carcasses of horses, and other beasts, yea, and sometimes of men, used to be thrown. Now it was observed by Lagoras, that the ravens, and other birds of prey, which haunted that place by reason of their food, which was there never wanting, used to fly up unto the top of the rocks, and to pitch upon the walls, where they rested without any disturbance. Observing this often, he reasoned with himself, and concluded, that those parts of the wall were left unguarded, as being thought unapproachable. Hereof he informed the king, who approved his judgment, and gave unto him the leading of such men as he desired for the accomplishing of the enterprise. The success was agreeable to that which Lagoras had before conceived;

and though with much labour, yet without resistance, he scaled those rocks, and (whilst a general assault was made) entered the town in that part, which was at other times unguarded, then unthought upon. In the same place had the Persians under Cyrus, gotten into Sardes, when Croesus thought himself secure on that side. But the citizens took not warning by the example of a loss many ages past, and therefore out of memory. Achæus held still the castle, which not only seemed by nature impregnable, but was very well stored with all necessaries, and manned with a sufficient number of such as were to him well assured. Antiochus, therefore, was constrained to waste much time about it, having none other hopes to prevail than by famishing the inclosed. Besides the usual tediousness of expectation, his business called him thence away into higher Asia, where the Bactrians and Parthians, with the Hyrcanians, had erected kingdoms taken out of his dominions, upon which they still encroached. But he thought it not safe to let Achæus break loose again. On the other side there were some agents of Ptolemy the Egyptian, and good friends unto Achæus, that made it their whole study how to deliver this besieged prince. If they could rescue his person, they cared for no more; but presumed, that when he should appear in the countries under Taurus, he would soon have an army at command, and be strong enough to hold Antiochus as hardly at work as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one Bolis a Cretan, that was acquainted well with all the ways in the country, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult passages among those rocks whereon the castle of Sardes stood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he should receive at the hands of Ptolemy, as well as of Achæus, to do his best for the performance of their desire. He undertook the business, and gave such likely reasons of bringing all to effect, that they wrote unto Achæus

by one Arianus, a trusty messenger, whom Bolis found means to convey into the castle. The faith of these negociators Achæus held most assured. They also wrote unto him in privy characters, or cyphers, wherewith none save he and they were acquainted, whereby he knew that it was no feigned device of his enemies in the name of his friends. As for the messenger, he was a trusty fellow, and one whom Achæus found, by examination, heartily affected unto their side; but the contents of the epistle, which were, that he should be confident in the faith of Bolis, and of one Cambylus, whom Bolis had won unto the business, did somewhat trouble him. They were men to him unknown; and Cambylus was a follower of Antiochus, under whom he had the command of those Cretans which held one of the forts that blocked up the castle of Sardes. Nevertheless, other way to escape he saw none than by putting himself to some adventure. When the messenger had therefore passed to and fro, it was at length concluded, that Bolis himself should come to speak with Achæus, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the rest, save only by Bolis and Cambylus, which were Cretans, and (as all their countrymen, some few excepted¹, have been, and still are) false knaves. These two held a consultation together, that was, as Polybius observes it², rightly critical, neither concerning the safety of him whose safety they undertook, nor touching the discharge of their own faith, but only how to get most, with least ado and danger to themselves. Briefly,

¹ Among these few I do not except one, calling himself Eudæmon John Andrew, a Cretan, who, in one of his late shameless libels, wherein he traduceth our king, religion, and country, with all the good and worthy men of whom he could learn the names, hath, by inserting my name, twice belied me, in calling me a puritan, and one that have been dangerous to my sovereign. It is an honour to be ill spoken of by so diligent a supporter of treasons and architect of lies; in regard whereof I may not deny him the commendation of criticism, no less voluminous than he, in multiplicity of names, is beyond any of the Cretans in elder times, that were always liars, evil beasts, and slow-bellies.

² Polyb. Hist. l. viii.

they concluded that, first of all, they would equally share between them ten talents, which they had already received in hand, and then, that they would reveal the matter to Antiochus, offering to deliver Achæus unto him, if they might be well rewarded, both with present money, and with promise of consideration answerable to the greatness of such a service, when it should be dispatched. Antiochus, hearing this promise of Cambylus, was no less glad, than were the friends of Achæus well pleased with the comfortable promises of Bolis. At length, when all things were in readiness on both sides, and that Bolis with Arianus was to get up into the castle and convey Achæus thence, he first went with Cambylus to speak with the king, who gave him very private audience, and confirmed unto him, by word of mouth, the assurance of his liberal promises; and after that, putting on the countenance of an honest man, and of one that was faithful unto Ptolemy, whom he had long served, he accompanied Arianus up into the castle. At his coming thither, he was lovingly entertained, yet questioned at large by Achæus, touching all the weight of the business in hand. But he discoursed so well, and with such gravity, that there appeared no reason of distrusting either his faith or judgment. He was an old soldier, had long been a captain under Ptolemy, and did not thrust himself into this business, but was invited by honourable and faithful men. He had also taken a safe course in winning (as it seemed) that other countryman of his who kept a fort that stood in their way, and thereby had already sundry times given safe passage and repassage unto Arianus. But against all these comfortable hopes, the importance of so great an adventure stirred up some diffidence. Achæus therefore dealt wisely, and said that he would yet stay in the castle a little longer, but that he meant to send away with Bolis three or four of his friends, from

whom when he received better advertisement concerning the likelihood of the enterprise, then would he issue forth himself. Hereby he took order not to commit himself wholly unto the faith of a man unknown; but, as Polybius well notes, he did not consider that he played the Cretan with a man of Crete; which is to say, that he had to do with one whose knavery could not be avoided by circumspection. Bolis and Cambylus had laid their plot thus: That if Achæus came forth alone, then should he easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him; if he were accompanied by many of his friends, then should Arianus be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had trodden it oft; and Bolis following behind, should have an eye upon Achæus, to prevent him not only from escaping in the tumult, but from breaking his own neck or otherwise killing himself, to the end that, being taken alive, he might be to Antiochus the more welcome present: and in such order came they now forth; Arianus going before as guide, the rest following as the way served, and Bolis in the rear. Achæus made none acquainted with his purpose till the very instant of his departure; then signified he the matter to his wife Laodice, and, comforting her with hope as well as he could, appointed four of his especial friends to bear him company. They were all disguised, and one of them alone took upon him to have knowledge of the Greek tongue, speaking and answering, as need should require for all, as if the rest had been barbarians. Bolis followed them, craftily devising upon his business, and much perplexed; for (saith Polybius) though he were of Crete, and prone to surmise any thing to the mischief of another, yet could he not see in the dark, nor know which of them was Achæus, or whether Achæus himself were there. The way was very uneasy, and in some places dangerous, especially to those who knew it not; wherefore they were fain to stay in divers places, and help one another up or

down. But upon every occasion they were all of them very officious towards Achæus, lending him their hands, and taking such care of him as easily gave Bolis to understand that he was the man; and so by their unseasonable duty they undid their lord. When they came to the place where Cambylus lay in wait, Bolis whistled, and presently clasped Achæus about the middle, holding him fast that he should not stir; so they were all taken by the ambush, and carried forthwith to Antiochus, who sat up watching in his pavilion expecting the event. The sight of Achæus brought in bound unto him did so astonish the king, that he was unable to speak a word, and anon broke out into weeping. Yet was he before informed of the plot; which might have kept him from admiration; as also the next morning betimes, assembling his friends together, he condemned Achæus to a cruel death; which argues, that he was not moved with pity towards this unhappy man. Wherefore it was the general regard of calamities incident unto great fortunes that wrung from him these tears, as also the rarity of the accident that made both him and his friends to wonder; though it be so, that such a course as this of his, in employing two mischievous knaves against one traitor, doth not rarely succeed well, according to that Spanish proverb, *A un traydor dos allerosos*. The death of Achæus brought such astonishment upon those which held the castle, that after a while they gave up the place and themselves unto the king, whereby he got entire possession of all to him belonging in the Lesser Asia.

Some years passed after this, ere Antiochus was ready for his expedition against the Parthians and Hyrcanians. The Parthians were a little nation, of obscure beginnings, and commonly subject unto those that ruled in Media. In the great shuffling for provinces after the death of Alexander, the government over them was committed by Antipater to one Philip, a man of small regard; shortly they fell to Eumenes,

then to Antigonius, and from him, together with the Medes, to Seleucus, under whose posterity they continued until the reign of Seleucus Callinicus, being ruled by lieutenants of the Syrian kings. The lustful insolency of one of these lieutenants, together with the misfortune of Callinicus that was vanquished and thought to be slain by the Gauls, did stir up Arsaces, a nobleman of the country, to seek revenge of injuries done, and animate them to rebel. So he slew the king's lieutenant, made himself king of the Parthians and lord of Hyrcania; fought prosperously with those that disturbed him in his beginnings, and took Seleucus Callinicus prisoner in battle, whom he royally entertained and dismissed. Hereby he won reputation as a lawful king; and, by good government of his country, procured unto himself such love of his subjects, that his name was continued to his successors like as that of the Ptolemies in Egypt, and that of the Cæsars afterwards in Rome. Much about the same time the Bactrians rebelled, though these at length, and all belonging to the Seleucidæ beyond Euphrates, increased the Parthians' dominion. Now Antiochus went against them with so strong an army, that they durst not meet him in the plain field, but kept themselves in woods or places of strength, and defended the straits and passages of mountains.—The resistances they made availed them not; for Antiochus had with him so great a multitude, and so well sorted, as he needed not to turn out of the way from those that lay fortified against him in woods and straits between their mountains; it being easy to spare, out of so great a number, as many as, fetching a compass about, might either get above the enemies heads, or come behind and charge them on the back. Thus did he often employ against them his light armature, wherewith he caused them to dislodge and give way unto his phalanx, upon which they durst not adventure themselves in open ground. Arsaces, the second of the name (for his father was dead

before this), was then king of Parthia, who, though he was confident in the fidelity of his own subjects, yet feared to encounter with so mighty an invader. His hope was, that the bad ways and deserts would have caused Antiochus, when he was at Ecbatana in Media, to give over the journey without proceeding much further. This not so falling out, he caused the wells and springs in the wilderness through which the enemy must pass, to be dammed up and spoiled. By which means, and the resistance before spoken of, when he could not prevail, he withdrew himself out of the way, suffering the enemy to take his pleasure for a time in wasting the country, wherein, without some victory obtained, he could make no long abode. Antiochus hereby found that Arsaces was nothing strongly provided for the war; wherefore he marched through the heart of Parthia, and then forward into Hyrcania, where he won Tambrace, the chief city of that province. This indignity, and many other losses, caused Arsaces at length, when he had gathered an army that seemed strong enough, to adventure a battle; the issue whereof was such as gave to neither of the kings hopes of accomplishing his desires without exceeding difficulty: wherefore Arsaces craved peace, and at length obtained it, Antiochus thinking it not amiss to make him a friend whom he could not make a subject.

The next expedition of Antiochus was against Euthydemus king of the Bactrians, one that indeed had not rebelled against him or his ancestors, but having gotten the kingdom from those that had rebelled, kept it to himself. With Euthydemus he sought a battle by the river Arius, where he had the victory. But the victory was not so greatly to his honour as was the testimony which he gave of his own private valour in obtaining it. He was thought that day to have demeaned himself more courageously than did any one man in all his army; his horse was slain under him, and he himself received a wound in the

mouth, whereby he lost some of his teeth. As for Euthydemus, he withdrew himself back into the furthest parts of his kingdom, and afterwards protracted the war, seeking how to end it by composition. So ambassadors passed between the kings; Antiochus complaining, that a country of his was unjustly usurped from him; Euthydemus answering, that he had won it from the children of the usurpers; and further, that the Bactrians, a wild nation, could hardly be retained in order, save by a king of their own, for that they bordered upon the Scythians, with whom if they should join, it would be greatly to the danger of all the provinces that lay behind them. These allegations, together with his own weariness, pacified Antiochus, and made him willing to grant peace upon reasonable conditions. Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, being a goodly gentleman, and employed by his father as ambassador in this treaty of peace, was not a little available unto a good conclusion; for Antiochus liked him so well, that he promised to give him in marriage one of his own daughters, and therewithal permitted Euthydemus to retain the kingdom, causing him nevertheless to deliver up all his elephants, as also to bind himself by oath to such covenants as he thought requisite.

So Antiochus, leaving the Bactrian in quiet, made a journey over Caucasus, and came to the borders of India, where he renewed with Sophagasenus, king of the Indians, the society that had been between their ancestors. The Indians had remained subject unto the Macedonians for a little while after Alexander's death. Eumenes, in his war against Antigonus, raised part of his forces out of their country. But when Antigonus, after his victory, turned westward, and was over-busied in a great civil war, then did one Sandrocottus, an Indian, stir up his countrymen to rebellion, making himself their captain, and taking upon him as protector of their liberty. This office and title he soon changed, though not without some

contention, into the name and majesty of a king. Finally, he got unto himself (having an army of six hundred thousand men) if not all India, yet as much of it as had been Alexander's. In this estate he had well confirmed himself, ere Seleucus Nicator could find leisure to call him to account. Neither did he faint, or humble himself, at the coming of Seleucus, but met him in the field, as ready to defend his own, so strongly and well-appointed, that the Macedonian was contented to make both peace and affinity with him, taking only a reward of fifty elephants. This league, made by the founders of the Indian and Syrian kingdoms, was continued by some offices of love between their children, and now renewed by Antiochus, whose number of elephants were increased thereupon by the Indian king to an hundred and fifty; as also he was promised to have some treasure sent after him, which he left one to receive. Thus parted these two great kings. Neither had the Indians, from this time forwards, in many generations, any business worthy of remembrance with the western countries. The posterity of Sandrocottus is thought to have retained that kingdom unto the days of Augustus Cæsar; to whom Porus, when reigning in India, sent ambassadors with presents, and an epistle written in Greek; wherein, among other things, he said, that he had command over six hundred kings. There is also found, scattered in sundry authors, the mention of some which held that kingdom, in divers ages, even unto the time of Constantine the Great; being all, peradventure, of the same race. But Antiochus,—who, in his treaty with Sophagasenus, carried himself as the worthier person, receiving presents, and after marched home through Drangiana and Carmania, with such reputation, that all the potentates, not only in higher Asia, but on the hither side of Taurus, humbled themselves unto him, and called him the Great,—saw an end of his own greatness within a few years

ensuing, by presuming to stand upon points with the Romans, whose greatness was the same, indeed, that his was only in seeming.

SECT. III.

The lewd reign of Ptolemy Philopater in Egypt; with the tragical end of his favourites, when he was dead. Antiochus prepares to war on the young child Ptolemy Epiphanes, the son of Philopater. His irresolution in preparing for divers wars at once. His voyage toward the Hellespont. He seeks to hold amity with the Romans, who make a friendly shew to him; intending, nevertheless, to have war with him. His doings against the Hellespont, which the Romans made the first ground of their quarrel to him.

THIS expedition being finished, Antiochus had leisure to repose himself a while, and study which way to convert the terror of his puissance, for the enlargement of his empire. Within two or three years Ptolemy Philopater died, leaving his son Ptolemy Epiphanes, a young boy, his successor in the kingdom; unlikely by him to be well defended against a neighbour so mighty and ambitious. This Ptolemy, surnamed Philopater, that is to say, *a lover of his father*, is thought to have had that surname given him in mere derision, as having made away both his father and mother. His young years, being newly past his childhood when he began to reign, may seem to discharge him of so horrible a crime as his father's death¹; yet the beastliness of all his following life makes him not unlike to have done any mischief whereof he could be accused. Having won

¹ Justin. l. xxx.

the battle at Raphia, he gave himself over to sensuality, and was wholly governed by a strumpet called Agathoclea. At her instigation he murdered his own wife and sister, which had adventured herself with him, in that only dangerous action by him undertaken, and performed with honour. The lieutenantships of his provinces, with all commands in his army, and offices whatsoever, were wholly referred unto the disposition of this Agathoclea, and her brother Agathocles, and of Oenanthe, a filthy bawd, that was mother unto them both. So these governed the realm at their pleasure, to the great grief of all the country, till Philopater died; who having reigned seventeen years, left none other son than Ptolemy Epiphanes, a child of five years old, begotten on Arsinoe, that was his sister and wife. After the king's death, Agathocles began to take upon him as protector of young Epiphanes, and governor of the land. He assembled the Macedonians, (which were the king's ordinary forces in pay, not all born in Macedonia, but the race of those that abode in Egypt with Ptolemy the first, and would not be accounted Egyptians, as neither would the kings themselves,) and bringing forth unto them his sister Agathoclea, with the young king in her arms, began a solemn oration. He told them, that the deceased father of this their king had committed the child into the arms of his sister, but unto the faith of them on whose valiant right hands the whole state of the kingdom did now rely. He besought them, therefore, that they would be faithful, and, as great need was, defend their king against the treason of one Tlepolemus, an ambitious man, who traitorously went about to set the diadem upon his own head, being a mere stranger to the royal blood. Herewithal he produced before them a witness that should justify his accusation against Tlepolemus. Now, though it were so, that he delivered all this with a feigned passion of sorrow and counterfeiting of tears, yet the Macedonians that

heard him regarded not any word that he spake, but stood laughing and talking one to another, what a shameful dissembler he was to take so much upon him, as if he knew not how greatly he was hated. And so broke up the assembly; he that had called it being scarce aware how.—Agathocles therefore, whom the old king's favour had made mighty, but neither wise nor well qualified, thought to go to work, as had formerly been his manner, by using his authority to the suppression of those that he distrusted. He haled out of a temple the mother-in-law of Tlepolemus, and cast her into prison. This filled Alexandria with rumours, and made the people (though accustomed to suffer greater things whilst they were committed in the old king's name) to meet in knots together, and utter one to another their minds; wherein they had conceived extreme hate against these three pernicious misgovernors of the old king. Besides their consideration of the present injury done to Tlepolemus, they were somewhat also moved with fear of harm; which, in way of requital, Tlepolemus was likely to do unto the city. For he was, though a man most unapt for government, as afterwards he proved, yet no bad soldier, and well beloved of the army; it was also then in his power to stop the provision of victuals which was to come into Alexandria. As these motives wrought with the people, so, by the remedy which Agathocles used, were the Macedonians more hastily and more violently stirred unto uproar. He secretly apprehended one of their number whom he suspected of conspiracy against him, and delivered him unto a follower of his own, to be examined by torture. This poor soldier was carried into an inner-room of the palace, and there stripped out of all his apparel, to be tormented. But whilst the whips were brought forth, and all things even in a readiness for that purpose, there was brought unto the minister of Agathocles, a sad report of Tlepolemus's being at hand.

Hereupon the examiner and his torturers, one after another, went out of the room, leaving Mærageanes the soldier alone by himself, and the doors open. He perceiving this, naked as he was, conveyed himself out of the palace, and got unto the Macedonians; of whom he found some in a temple thereby at dinner. The Macedonians were as fierce in maintenance of their privileges, as are the Turkish Janizaries. Being assured, therefore, that one of their fellows had thus been used, they fell to arms in great rage, and began to force the palace; crying out, That they would see the king, and not leave him in possession of such a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the city, with loud clamours, made no less ado than the soldiers, though to less effect. So the old bawd, Oenanthe, fled into a temple; her son and daughter staid in the court, until the king was taken from them; and they, by his permission, which he easily gave, and by appointment of those that now had him in their hands, delivered up to the fury of the people. Agathocles himself was stabbed to death by some, which therein did the office of friends, though in manner of enemies. His sister was dragged naked up and down the streets, as was also his mother, with all to them belonging; the enraged multitude committed upon them a barbarous execution of justice biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in pieces.

These troubles in Egypt served well to stir up king Antiochus, who had very good leisure, though he wanted all pretence to make war upon young Ptolemy. Philip of Macedon had the same desire to get what part he could of the child's estate. But it happened well, that Ptolemy Philopater, in the Punic war, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices unto the Romans. Unto them therefore the Egyptians addressed themselves, and craved help against these two kings; who though they secretly maligned one the other, yet had

entered into covenant to divide between them all that belonged unto this orphan, whose father had been confederate with them both. So M. Lepidus was sent from Rome², to protect from all violence the king of Egypt, especially against Antiochus. As for the Macedonian, he was very soon found busied with war at his own doors. Also Scopas, the Ætolian, being a pensioner to the Egyptian, was sent into Greece to raise an army of mercenaries. What Lepidus did in Egypt, I do not find; and therefore think it not improbable, that he was sent thither only one of the three ambassadors, in the beginning of the war with Philip, as hath been shewed before³. As for Scopas, he shortly after went up into Syria with his army; where winning many places, amongst the rest of his acts he subdued the Jews, who seem to have yielded themselves a little before unto Antiochus, at such time as they saw him prepare for his war, and despaired of receiving help from Egypt. But it was not long ere all these victories of Scopas came to nothing⁴. For the very next year following, which was (according to Eusebius) the same year that Philip was beaten at Cynoscephalæ, Antiochus vanquished Scopas in battle, and recovered all that had been lost. Among the rest, the Jews with great willingness returned under his obedience, and were therefore by him very gently entreated.

The land of Egypt this great king did forbear to invade, and gave it out that he meant to bestow a daughter of his own in marriage upon Ptolemy; either hoping, as may seem, that the country would willingly submit itself unto him if this young child should happen to miscarry, or else that greater purchase might be made in the western parts of Asia, whilst Philip was held over-laboured by the Romans. It appears, that he was

² Justin. l. xxx.

³ Liv. l. xxxi.

⁴ Vide Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xii. c. 8.

very much distracted, hunting (as we say) two hares at once with one hound. The quarrels between Attalus, Philip, and the Greeks, promised to afford him great advantage, if he should bring his army to the Hellespont. On the other side, the state of Egypt, being such as hath been declared, seemed easy to be swallowed up at once. One while, therefore, he took what he could get in Syria; where all were willing (and the Jews among the rest, though hitherto they had kept faith with the Egyptian) to yield him obedience. Another while, letting Egypt alone, he was about to make invasion upon Attalus's kingdom, yet suffered himself easily to be persuaded by the Roman ambassadors, and desisted from that enterprise. Having thus far gratified the Romans, he sends ambassadors to the senate, to conclude a perfect amity between him and them. It is not lightly to be over-passed, that these his ambassadors were lovingly entertained at Rome, and dismissed with a decree and answer of the senate altogether to the honour of king Antiochus. But this answer of the Romans was not sincere, being rather framed according to regard of the king's good liking, than of their own intent. They had not as yet made an end with Philip; neither would they gladly be troubled with two great wars at once. Wherefore, not standing much upon the nice examination of what belonged unto their honour, they were content to give good words for the present. In the meantime, Antiochus fights with Scopas in Syria; and shortly prepares to win some towns elsewhere, belonging unto Ptolemy: yet withal he sends an army westward, intending to make what profit he can of the distractions in Greece. Likewise it is considerable, as an argument of his much irresolution, how, notwithstanding his attempts upon both of their kingdoms, he offered one of his daughters to Ptolemy, and another to Eumenes, the son of Attalus, newly king of Pergamus, seeking each of their friend-

ships at one and the same time, when he sought to make each of them a spoil. Thus was he acting and deliberating at once ; being carried with an inexpressible desire of repugnancies ; which is a disease of great and overswelling fortunes. Howsoever it was, he sent an army to Sardes by land, under two of his own sons, willing them there to stay for him ; whilst he himself, with a fleet of an hundred gallies, and two hundred other vessels, intended to pass along by the coasts of Cilicia and Caria, taking in such places as held for the Egyptian. It was a notable act of the Rhodians, that, whilst the war of Philip lay yet upon their hands, they adventured upon this great Antiochus. They sent unto him a proud embassy ; whereby they gave him to understand, that if he passed forward beyond a certain promontory in Cicilia, they would meet him, and fight with him ; not for any quarrel of theirs unto him ; but because he should not join with Philip their enemy, and help him against the Romans. It was insolently done of them, neither seemed it otherwise to prescribe such limits unto the king ; yet he tempered himself and without any shew of indignation, gave a gentle answer ; partly himself to their ambassadors, partly unto their whole city by ambassadors which he thither sent. He shewed his desire to renew the ancient confederacies between his ancestors and them, and willed them not to be afraid lest his coming should tend unto any hurt, either of them or of their confederates. As touching the Romans, whom they thought that he would molest, they were (he said) his very good friends ; whereof, he thought, there needed no better proof than the entertainment and answer by them newly given to his ambassadors.

The Rhodians appear to have been a cunning people, and such as could foresee what weather was like to happen. This answer of the king, and the relation of what had passed between his ambassadors

and the senate, moved them not a whit. When they were informed shortly after, that the Macedonian war was ended at the battle of Cynoscephalæ, they knew that Antiochus's turn would be next; and prepared to be forward on the stronger side. Wherefore they would not be contented to sit still, unless the towns on the south coast of Asia, belonging to Ptolemy, their friend and confederate, were suffered to be at quiet. Herein also they did well; for that they had ever been greatly beholden to all the race of the Ptolemies. They therefore, in this time of necessity, gave what aid they could unto all the subjects of the Egyptian in those parts. In like manner did king Eumenes, the son of Attalus, prognosticate as concerning the war that followed between Antiochus and the Romans. For when king Antiochus made a friendly offer to bestow one of his daughters upon him in marriage, he excused himself, and would not have her. Attalus and Philetærus, his brethren, wondered at this. But he told them, that the Romans would surely make war upon Antiochus, and therein finally prevail. Wherefore he said, That by abstaining from this affinity, it should be in his power to join with the Romans, and strengthen himself greatly with their friendship: Contrariwise, if he leaned to Antiochus, as he must be partaker in his overthrow, so was he sure to be oppressed by him, as by an overmighty neighbour, if he happened to win the victory.

Antiochus himself wintered about Ephesus, where he took such order as he thought convenient for the reducing of Smyrna and Lampsacus to obedience, that had usurped their liberty, and obstinately strove to maintain it, in hope that the Romans would protect them. In the beginning of the spring he sailed unto the Hellespont, where having won some towns that Philip had gotten not long before this, he passed over unto Europe side, and in short space mastered the Chersonesus. Thence went he to Lysimachia, which

the Thracians had gotten and destroyed when Philip withdrew his garrison thence to employ it in the Roman war. The Ætolians objected as a crime unto Philip, in the conference before T. Quintius, that he had oppressed Lysimachia by thrusting thereinto a garrison. Hereupon Philip made answer, that his garrison did not oppress the town, but save it from the barbarians, who took and sacked it as soon as the Macedonians were gone. That this answer was good and substantial, though it were not accepted as such, might appear by the miserable case in which Antiochus found Lysimachia at his coming thither; for the town was utterly razed by the barbarians, and the people carried away into slavery; wherefore the king took order to have it re-edified, as also to redeem those that were in bondage, and to recollect as many of the citizens as were dispersed in the country thereabout. Likewise he was careful to allure thither, by hopeful promises, new inhabitants, and to replenish the city with the wonted frequency. Now to the end that men should not be terrified from coming thither to dwell by any fear of the neighbour Thracians, he took a journey in hand against those barbarous people, with the one half of his army, leaving the other half to repair the city. These pains he took, partly in regard of the convenient situation and former glory of Lysimachia, partly for that he thought it highly redounding unto his own honour to recover and establish the dominion in those parts which his forefather Seleucus Nicator had won from Lysimachus, and thereby made his kingdom of greater extent than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition he shall dearly pay; and as after that victory against Lysimachus the death of king Seleucus followed shortly, so shall a deadly wound of the kingdom founded by Seleucus ensue very speedily after the re-conquest of the same country, which was the last of Seleucus's purchases.

SECT. IV.

The Romans hold friendly correspondence with Antiochus during their war with Philip, after which they quarrel with him. The doings of Hannibal at Carthage, whence he is chased by his enemies and by the Romans; his flight unto the king Antiochus. The Ætolians murmur against the Romans in Greece. The war of the Romans and Achæans with Nabis the tyrant of Lacedæmon. The departure of the Romans out of Greece. T. Quintius's triumph. Peace denied to Antiochus by the Romans.

For the Romans, though they were unable to smother their desire of war with Antiochus, whereof notice was already taken both by their friends and by their enemies, yet was it much against their will to keep the rumour on foot, which they meant shortly to make good, of this intended war, so long as they wanted matter of quarrel; whereof they were furnished by this enterprise of the king's about Lysimachia. It was not long since king Attalus, a friend and helper of the Romans in their war with Philip, could obtain of them none other help against Antiochus than ambassadors to speak for him, because the one of these kings was held no less a friend than the other; neither did there afterwards pass between them any other offices than very friendly. Antiochus, at the request of their ambassadors, withdrew his invasion from the kingdom of Pergamus; also very shortly after he sent ambassadors to them, to make a perfect league of amity between them. This was whilst as yet they were busied with Philip, and therefore had reason to answer his good will with good acceptance, as they did in outward shew. But when the Macedonian war was at an end, and all, or most of

all the states in Greece, were become little better than clients unto the Romans, then was all this good correspondence changed into terms of worse, but more plain meaning; for T. Quintius, with his ten counsellors sent from Rome, required (as hath been shewed before¹), with a commination of war, this king's gratulation of their victory, as also his long professed amity, and desire to continue in the same.

These ten counsellors were able to inform Titus Quintius, and acquaint him with the purpose of the senate, whereof yet it seems that he was not ignorant before, since, in regard of Antiochus, he was the more inclinable unto peace with Philip. It was therefore agreed, when they divided themselves to make progress through divers quarters of Greece for the execution of their late decree, that two of them should visit king Antiochus; and the rest, where occasion served, use diligence to make a party strong against him. Neither was the senate at Rome unmindful of the business, wherein, lest T. Quintius, with his ten assistants, should happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging, L. Cornelius was sent from Rome of purpose to deal with the king about those controversies that were between him and Ptolemy. What other private instructions Cornelius had we may conjecture by the managing of this his embassy; for coming to Selymbria, and there understanding that P. Villius and L. Terentius, having been sent by Titus, were at Lysimachia, he hastened thither; whither also came P. Lentulus (another of the ten counsellors) from Bargillæ, to be present at the conference. Hegesinax and Lysias were also there; the same who had lately brought from Titus those peremptory conditions which the ambassadors present shall expound unto their masters. After a few days Antiochus returned from his Thracian expedition. The meeting and entertainment between

¹ Chap. IV. Sect. ult.

him and these Romans was, in appearance, full of love; but when they came to treat of the business in hand, this good mood was quite altered. L. Cornelius, in two or three words, briefly delivered his errand from Rome, which was, That Antiochus had reason to deliver back unto Ptolemy those towns of his whereof he had lately gotten possession: hereunto he added, and that very earnestly, That he must also give up the towns of late belonging unto Philip, and by him newly occupied; for what could be more absurd than such folly in the Romans, as to let Antiochus enjoy the profit of that war wherein they had laboured so much and he done nothing? Further, he warned the king, that he should not molest those cities that were free: and, finally, he demanded of him upon what reason he was come over with so great an army into Europe; for that other cause of his journey there was none probable than a purpose to make war upon the Romans. To this the king made answer, That he wondered why the Romans should so trouble themselves with thinking upon the matters of Asia; wherewith he prayed them to let him alone, even as he, without such curiosity, suffered them to do in Italy what they thought good. As for his coming over into Europe, they saw well enough what business had drawn him thither, namely, the war against the barbarous Thracians, the rebuilding of Lysimachia, and the recovery of towns to him belonging in Thrace and Chersonesus. Now, concerning his title unto that country, he derived it from Seleucus, who made conquest thereof by his victory against Lysimachus. Neither was it so that any of the places in controversy between him and the other kings had been still of old belonging to the Macedonians or Egyptians, but had been seized on by them, or by others from whom they received them, at such time as his ancestors, being lords of those countries, were hindered, by multiplicity of business, from looking unto all that was their own. Finally,

he willed them neither to stand in fear of him, as if he intended ought against them from Lysimachia, since it was his purpose to bestow this city upon one of his sons that should reign therein; nor yet to be grieved with his proceedings in Asia, either against the free cities or against the king of Egypt, since it was his meaning to make the free cities beholden unto himself, and to join ere long with Ptolemy, not only in friendship, but in a bond of near affinity. Cornelius having heard this, and being perhaps unable to refute it, would needs hear further what the ambassadors of Smyrna and of Lampsacus, whom he had there with him, could say for themselves. The ambassadors of Lampsacus being called in, began a tale, wherein they seemed to accuse the king before the Romans as it were before competent judges. Antiochus therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace, forasmuch as he had not chosen the Romans, but would rather take the citizens of Rhodes, to be arbitrators between him and them.

Thus the treaty held some few days without any likelihood of effect. The Romans, having not laid their complaints in such sort as they might be a convenient foundation of the war by them intended, nor yet having purpose to depart well satisfied, and thereby to corroborate the present peace, were doubtful how to order the matter, in such wise as they might neither too rudely, like boisterous Gallo-Greeks, pretend only the goodness of their swords, nor yet overmodestly, to retain among the Greeks an opinion of their justice, forbear the occasion of making themselves great. The king, on the other side, was weary of these tedious guests that would take no answer, and yet scarce knew what to say. At length came news, without any certain author, that Ptolemy was dead. Hereof neither the king nor the Romans would take notice, though each of them were desirous to hasten into Egypt; Antiochus to take possession of the kingdom, and L. Cornelius to prevent

him thereof, and set the country in good order. Cornelius was sent from Rome ambassador, both to Antiochus and to Ptolemy, which gave him occasion to take leave and prepare for his Egyptian voyage. Both he and his fellow ambassadors had good leave to depart all together, and the king forthwith made ready to be in Egypt with the first. To his son Seleucus he committed his army, and left him to oversee the building of Lysimachia; but all his sea forces he took along with him, and sailed unto Ephesus. Thence he sent ambassadors to Quintius, whom he requested to deal with him in this matter of peace after such sort as might stand with honesty and good faith; but as he was further proceeding on his voyage, he was perfectly informed that Ptolemy was alive. This made him bear another way from Egypt; and afterwards a tempest, with a grievous shipwreck, made him, without any further attempt on the way, glad to have safely recovered his port of Seleucia. Thence went he to Antiochia, where he wintered, secure, as might appear, of the Roman war.

But the Romans had not so done with him. During the treaty at Lysimachia (at leastwise not long before or after it) one of their ambassadors that had been sent unto the Macedonian, gave him counsel, as in a point highly tending to his good, not to rest contented with the peace which was granted unto him by the Romans, but to desire society with them, whereby they should be bound to have the same friends and enemies; and this he advised him to do quickly before the war broke out with Antiochus, lest otherwise he might seem to have awaited some fit occasion of taking arms again. They who dealt thus plainly did not mean to be satisfied with weak excuses. In like manner some of the Greeks were solicited, and particularly the Ætoliâns, that constantly and faithfully they should abide in the friendship of the people of Rome. It was needless to say plainly whereto this entreaty tended; the froward

answer made by the Ætolians declares them to have well understood the purpose. They complained that they were not alike honoured by the Romans after the victory, as they had been during the war. They that so complained were the most moderate of them. Others cried out that they had been wronged and defrauded of what was promised unto them, upbraiding withal the Romans as men to them beholden, not only for their victory over Philip, but even for helping them to set foot in Greece, which else they never could have done. Hereto the Roman gave gentle answers, telling them that there was no more to do than to send ambassadors to the senate and utter their griefs, and then should all be well.

Such care took the Romans in Greece for their war intended against Antiochus. The fame hereof arriving at Carthage, gave matter unto the enemies of Hannibal wherewith both to pick a thank of the Roman senate, and to chace out of their city this honourable man whom they so greatly hated. He had of late exercised his virtue against them in the civil administration, and given them an overthrow or two in the long robe. The judges at that time bore all the sway in Carthage, holding their places during life, and having subject unto them the lives, goods, and fame of all the rest. Neither did they use this their power with moderation, but conspired in such wise together, that whoso offended any one of them should have them all to be his enemies; which being once known, he was sure to be soon accused and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the city, Hannibal was chosen prætor; by virtue of which office, though he was superior unto them during that year, yet had it not been their manner to bear much regard unto such an annual magistrate as at the year's end must be accountable to them if ought were laid unto his charge. Hannibal, therefore, sending for one of the quæstors or officers of the treasury to come and speak with him, the proud

quæstor set lightly thereby and would not come; for he was the adverse faction to Hannibal, and men of his place were to be chosen into the order of judges, in contemplation whereof he was filled already with the spirit of future greatness. But he had not to do with such a tame prætor as were they that had occupied the place before. Hannibal sent for him by a pursuivant, and, having thus apprehended him, brought him into judgment before a public assembly of the people. There he not only shewed what the undutiful stubbornness of this quæstor had been, but how unsufferable the insolency of all the judges at the present was, whose unbridled power made them to regard neither laws nor magistrates. To this oration, when he perceived that all the citizens were attentive and favourable, he forthwith propounded a law, which passed with the general good liking, That the judges should be chosen from year to year, and no man be continued in that office two years together. If this law had been passed before he passed over Iberus, it would not perhaps have been in the power of Hanno to have brought him unto necessity of reforming another grievance concerning the Roman tribute. This tribute the Carthaginians were fain to levy by taxation laid upon the whole commonalty, as wanting money in their public treasury wherewith to defray either that or divers other needful charges. Hannibal considering this, began to examine the public revenues, and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the treasury by ways and means whatsoever, and in what sort it was thence laid out; so he found that the ordinary charges of the commonwealth did not exhaust the treasury, but that wicked magistrates and corrupt officers, turning the greatest part of the monies to their own use, were thereby fain to load the people with needless burdens. Hereof he made such plain demonstration, that these robbers of the common treasure were compelled to restore with shame what they had got.

ten by knavery, and so the Carthaginians were freed from the necessity of making such poor shifts as formerly they had used, when they knew not the value of their own estate. But as the virtue of Hannibal was highly commended by all that were good citizens, so they of the Roman faction which had, since the making of the peace until now, little regarded him, began to rage extremely, as being by him stripped of their ill-gotten goods, and ill-employed authority, both at once; even when they thought themselves to have been in full possession of the vanquished Carthage. Wherefore they sent letters to their friends at Rome, wherein they complained as if the Barchine faction grew strong again, and Hannibal would shortly be in arms. Questionless, if oppressing the city by injustice and robbing the treasury, were the only way to hold Carthage in peace with Rome, these enemies to the Barchines might well cry out, That having done their best already to keep all in quiet, they saw none other likelihood than that of war. But having none other matter to allege than their own inventions, they said, That Hannibal was like unto a wild beast, which would never be tamed; that secret messages passed between him and king Antiochus; and that he was wont to complain of idleness, as if it were harmful to Carthage; with what else to like effect they could imagine. These accusations they directed not unto the senate, but addressing their letters craftily, every one to the best of his own friends at Rome, and such as were senators, they wrought so well, that neither public notice of their conspiracy was taken at Carthage, nor the authority of the Roman senate wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpose. Only P. Scipio is said to have admonished the Fathers, that they should not thus dishonourably subscribe, and become seconds to the accusers of Hannibal; as if they would oppress, by suborning or countenancing false witnesses against him, the man against whom in war they had not of

long time prevailed, nor used their victory in such base manner when they obtained it. But the Romans were not all so great minded as Scipio: they wished for some such advantage against Hannibal; and were glad to have found it. Three ambassadors they sent over to Carthage, C. Servilius, Q. Terentius, and Claudius Marcellus; whose very names import sufficient cause of bad affection to Hannibal. These having past the sea, were entertained by those that had procured their coming; and being by them instructed how to carry themselves, gave out, That they were sent to end some controversies, between the Carthaginians and Masinissa. But Hannibal had kept such good espial upon the Romans, that he knew their meaning well enough; against which he was never unprepared. It were enough to say, that he escaped them by flight; but in the actions of so famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearse the particulars. Having openly shewed himself, as was his manner, in the place of assembly, he went forth of the town when it began to wax dark, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination, though such as he might well trust. He had appointed horses to be in a readiness at a certain place; whence riding all night, he came to a tower of his own by the sea side. There had he a ship furnished with all things needful; as having long expected the necessity of some such journey. So he bade Africa farewell; lamenting the misfortune of his country more than his own. Passing over to the isle of Cercina, he found there, in the haven, some merchant ships of Carthage. They saluted him respectively; and the chief among them began to enquire whither he was bound. He said, he went ambassador to Tyre; and that he intended there in the island to make a sacrifice; whereunto he invited all the merchants, and the masters of the ships. It was hot weather, and therefore he would needs hold his feast upon the shore; where, because

there wanted covert, he made them bring thither all their sails and yards to be used instead of tents. They did so ; and feasted with him till it was late at night : at which time he left them there asleep, and putting to sea, held on his course to Tyre. All that night, and the day following, he was sure not to be pursued. For the merchants did neither make haste to send any news of him to Carthage, as thinking him to be gone ambassador ; neither could they, without some loss of time, such of them as made speed homeward, get away from Cercina, being busied awhile in fitting their tackle. At Carthage, the miss of so great a person was diversly construed. Some guessed aright, that he was fled. But the more common opinion was, that the Romans had made him away. At length came news where he had been seen : and then the Roman ambassadors, having none other errand thither, accused him, (with an evil grace,) as a troubler of the peace ; whereby they only discovered the mischief by them intended against him, and the malice of their senate ; missing the while their purpose, and causing men to understand, that he fled not thus without great reason.

Hannibal coming to Tyre, the mother city of Carthage, was there entertained royally ; as one, in whose great worth and honour the Tyrians, by reason of affinity between their cities, thought themselves to have interest. Thence went he to Antioch ; and, finding the king departed, visited his son in Daphne ; who friendly welcomed him, and sent him unto his father at Ephesus, that exceedingly rejoiced at his coming.

As Antiochus had cause to be glad in that he had gotten Hannibal, so had the Romans no great cause to be therefore sorry ; otherwise than as they had much disgraced themselves, by discovering of their impotent malice, in chasing him thus out of his country. For it would not prove alike easy unto this great commander to make stout soldiers of

base Asiatics, as it had been, by his training and discipline, to make very serviceable and skilful men of war of the Spaniards, Africans, Gauls, and other nations, that were hardy, though unexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one man's worth, especially being so extraordinary, could alter the nature of a cowardly people, yet was it therewithal considerable that the vanities of Antiochus, the pride of his court, the baseness of his flatterers, and a thousand other such vexations, would be far more powerful in making unprofitable the virtue of Hannibal, now a desolate and banished man, than had been the villany of Hanno and his complices, hindering him in those actions wherein he had the high command, and was seconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this great Carthaginian, would only help to ennoble the Roman victory ; or if it further served to hearten Antiochus, and make him less careful to avoid the war, then should it further serve to justify the Romans in their quarrel. And it seems, indeed, that it was no little part of their care to get a fair pretence of making war. For Antiochus, as is said before, having newly sent ambassadors to T. Quintius, requiring that the peace might faithfully be kept, it was not probable that he had any meaning to take arms, unless by mere violence he was thereto enforced. Only the Ætolians were greatly suspected, as a turbulent people, desirous of innovation, and therefore practising with this great king, whom they wished to see among them in Greece. In this regard, and to appease them, they had of late been answered with gentle words by one of the ten counsellors, that the senate would grant them whatsoever with reason they should ask : but this promise was too large, and unadvised. For when their ambassadors came to Rome, the senate would grant them nothing ; but wholly referred them to T. Quintius, who favoured them least. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right

themselves, otherwise than by speaking such words as might hasten the Romans out of Greece for very shame, who had no desire to be thence gone.

The daily talk at Rome was of war with Antiochus; but in Greece, when the Romans would leave the country. For the Ætolians were wont to upbraid the rest of the Greeks with the vain liberty which the Romans had proclaimed; saying, that these their deliverers had laid heavier fetters upon them than formerly they did wear, but yet brighter and fairer than those of the Macedonian; likewise, that it was a gracious act of Titus to take from the legs of the Greeks their chain, and tie it about their necks. There was indeed no cause of tarrying longer in Greece, if the Romans had no other meaning than what they pretended. For Philip made no delay in accomplishment of that which was laid upon him; all the towns of Greece were at liberty, and the whole country at peace, both with the Romans, and within itself. As for Antiochus, he made it his daily suit, that the peace between him and Rome, such as it was, might be confirmed, and strengthened by a league of more assurance. Nevertheless, T. Quintius would needs fear that Antiochus meant forthwith to seize upon Greece, as soon as he and his army were thence departed. And in this regard, he retained still in his own hands Chalcis, Demetrias, and the Acrocorinthus; by the benefit of which towns he might the better withstand the dangerous invasion like to be made by Antiochus. Suitable unto the doings of Quintius were the reports of the ten ambassadors that had been sent over to assist him, when they returned back into the city. Antiochus, they said, would questionless fall upon Greece, wherein he should find not only the Ætolians, but Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, ready to give him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way than to do somewhat against these their suspected enemies, especially against Nabis, who could worst

make resistance, whilst Antiochus was far away in Syria, and not intentive to his business. These reports went not only current through the city among the vulgar, but found such credit with the chief of the senate, that in the following year, against which time it was expected that Antiochus should be ready to take his great enterprise in hand, P. Cornelius Scipio, the African, desired and obtained a second consulship, with intention to be general in the war against the king and his Hannibal. For the present, the business with Nabis was referred unto Titus, to deal with him as he thought good. This would be a fair colour of his longer tarriance in Greece. Therefore he was glad of the employment, whereof also he knew that many of the Greeks would not be sorry; though, for his own part, he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For Nabis had entered into friendship with him two or three years before this, as is already shewed, whilst he had war with Philip; and had further been contented, for the Romans sake, to be at peace with the Achæans; neither since that time had he done any thing whereby he should draw upon himself this war. He was indeed a detestable tyrant, and hated of the Achæans, as one that, besides his own wicked conditions, had formerly done to them great mischief. Titus therefore had a plausible theme whereon to discourse before the embassies of all the confederate cities, which he caused to meet for that purpose at Corinth. He told them, that in the war with Philip, not only the Greeks, but the Romans themselves, had each their motives apart, (which he there briefly rehearsed,) that should stir them up, and cause them to be earnest. But in this, which he now propounded to them concerning Nabis, the Romans had none other interest, than only the making perfect of their honour, in setting all Greece at liberty; which noble action was in some sort maimed, or incomplete, whilst the noble city of Argos was left in subjection

to a tyrant that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged unto them, the Greeks, duly to consider, whether they thought the deliverance of Argos a matter worthy to be undertaken; or whether otherwise, to avoid all further trouble, they could be well contented to leave it as it was. This concerned them, and not the Romans, who, in taking this work in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the Greeks themselves. The Athenian ambassador made answer hereunto very eloquently, and as pleasing as he could devise. He gave thanks to the Romans for what was passed, extolled their virtues at large, and magnified them highly in regard of this their proposition; wherein, unrequested, they freely made offer to continue that bounty, which, at the vehement request of their poor associates, they had already of late extended unto the Greeks. To this he added, that great pity it was to hear such notable virtue and high deserts ill spoken of by some, which took upon them, out of their own imagination, to foretel what harm these their benefactors meant to do hereafter; when as thankfulness rather would have required an acknowledgment of the benefits and pleasures already received. Every one found the meaning of this last clause, which was directly against the Ætolians. Wherefore Alexander the Ætolian rose up, and told the Athenians their own, putting them in mind of their ancient glory, in those times when their city had been the leader of all Greece, for defence and recovery of the liberty general; from which honour they were now so far fallen, that they became parasites unto those whom they thought most mighty, and by their base assentation, would lead all the rest into servitude. Then spake he against the Achæans, clients that had been a long time unto the Macedonian, and soldiers of Philip, until they ran away from his adversity. These he said had gotten Corinth, and must now have war be made for their sakes, to the end

that they might also be lords of Argos ; whereas the Ætolians, that had first made war with Philip, and always been friends unto the Romans, were now defrauded of some places anciently to them belonging. Neither did he thus contain himself, but objected unto the Romans fraudulent dealing ; forasmuch as they kept their garrisons in Demetrias, Chalcis, and the Acrocorinth ; having been always wont to profess that Greece could never be at liberty whilst those places were not free. Also now, at last, what else did they seek by this discourse of war with Nabis, than business wherewith to find themselves occupied, that so they might have some seeming cause of abiding longer in the country ? But they should do well, if they meant as they spake, to carry their legions home out of Greece, which could not indeed be free till their departure. As for Nabis, the Ætolians themselves did promise, and would undertake, that they would either cause him to yield to reason, and relinquish Argos freely, withdrawing thence his garrison, or else compel him by force of arms to submit himself to the good pleasure of all Greece, that was now at unity. These words had been reasonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common liberty wrought so much with these Ætolians as did their own ravenous desire of oppressing others, and getting unto themselves, that worse would use it, the whole dominion in Greece which Philip had lost. Neither could they well dissemble this, making it no small part of their grievance, that the old league was forgotten, wherein it had been covenanted, that the Romans should enjoy the spoil of all, but leave the towns and lands in possession of the Ætolians. This, and the remembrance of a thousand mischiefs by them done in former times, made the whole assembly, especially the Achæans, cry out upon them, intreating the Romans to take such order before they went, that not only Nabis might be compelled to do

do right, but the Ætolian thieves be enforced to keep home, and leave their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleasure of Titus, who saw, that, by discountenancing the Ætolians, he was become the more gracious with all the rest. But whether it pleased him so well, that Antiochus's ambassadors did presently after lie hard upon him, to draw the peace to some good conclusion, it may be greatly doubted. He cast them off with a slight answer, telling them, that the ten ambassadors or counselors which had been sent unto him from Rome to be his assistants in these matters of weight, were now returned home; and that without them it was not in his power to conclude upon any thing.

Now concerning the Lacedæmonian war, it was very soon ended; for Titus used the help of all his confederates, and made as great preparation against Nabis, both by land and sea, as if he should have had to do with Philip. Besides the Roman forces, king Eumenes, with a navy, and the Rhodian fleet, were invited to the service; as also Philip of Macedon sent aid by land, doing therein poorly, whether it were to get favour of the Romans, or whether to make one among the number, in seeking revenge upon Nabis, that had done him injury. But the most forward in this expedition were the Achæans, who set out ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse. As for the Ætolians, rather to hold good fashion, and sound their dispositions, than in hopes to speed, their help was required, whereof they excused themselves as well as they thought best. Thus are the Achæans now become the prime friends of the Romans in Greece, having removed the Ætolians from that degree of favour, like as they themselves hereafter (though not in all haste) shall be supplanted by the same Lacedæmonians against whom they are now marching.

Some of the Argives, more bold than wise, began a conspiracy against the Lacedæmonians that held

their town ; meaning to open their gates unto the Roman. But ere Titus drew near, they were all detected and slain, excepting a very few that escaped out of the town. The fame of this commotion caused the army to march apace towards Argos, with hope to be there before things were at quiet. But there was no stir within the walls, the execution done upon the first movers having terrified all the rest of the citizens. Titus then thought it better to assail Nabis in the head of his strength at Lacedæmon, than to consume time about other places ; especially at Argos, for the freedom whereof, since the war was made, pity it were that the calamities of the war should thereon fall most heavily.

Nabis had in readiness an army of fifteen thousand, wherewith to defend himself against these invaders. Five thousand of them were mercenaries, the rest of his own country, but such as were of all others the worst ; as manumised slaves, malefactors, and base peasants, unto whom his tyranny was beneficial. Of the good and worthy citizens he stood in doubt ; and since he could not hope to win their love, his meaning was to hold them quiet by fear. He called them all to an assembly, and encompassing them round with his army, told them of the danger that was towards him and them. If they could agree within themselves, they might, he said, hope the better to withstand the common enemy. But forasmuch as turbulent heads were invited by light occasions to raise tumults, and work dangerous treason, it seemed unto him the safest, and (withal) the mildest course, to arrest beforehand, and put in ward all those whom he found most reason to suspect. So should he keep them innocent perforce, and thereby preserve not only the city and his own person from danger, but them also from the punishment which else they might have incurred. Hereupon he cites and apprehends about eighty of them, whom he leads away to prison, and the next night

puts them all to death. Thus was he sure that they neither should offend, nor yet break loose. As for the death of them, if it should happen to be noised abroad, what could it else do than terrify the people, who must thereby understand that it was a mortal crime to be suspected? And to the same purpose his cruelty extended itself unto some poor wretches, whom he accused of a meaning to fly to the enemy. These were openly whipped through all the streets, and slain. Having thus affrighted the citizens, he turned the more freely all his thoughts towards the enemy, that came on apace. He welcomed them with a sally, wherein, as commonly happens, the soldiers of the town had the better at first, but were at length repelled with loss. Titus abode not many days before Sparta, but overran the country; hoping, belike, to provoke the tyrant forth to battle. The Roman fleet, at the same time, with king Eumenes and the Rhodians, laid siege unto Gyttheum, the only or principal haven town that Nabis had. Likely they were to have taken it by force, when there appeared hope of getting it by treason. There were two governors within the town, equal in authority; whereof the one, either for fear, or desire of reward, had a purpose to let in the Romans; but the other, finding what was in hand, and being somewhat more faithful, slew the traitor, after whose death he himself alone made the better defence. Yet when T. Quintius, with part of his army, came thither to Gyttheum, this captain of the town had not the heart to abide the uttermost, and await what either time or his master might do for him, but was contented to give up the place; yet upon condition to depart in safety to Sparta with his garrison. Pythagoras, the son-in-law of Nabis, and brother unto his wife, was come from Argos, whereof he had the government, with a thousand soldiers mercenaries, and two thousand Argives; it being (as may seem) the tyrant's purpose to relieve Gyttheum, which he

thought would have held longer out. But when they heard that it was lost, then began they upon finishing the war, by some reasonable composition. Pythagoras, therefore, was sent ambassador to Titus, requesting only that he would appoint a time and place for Nabis to meet and speak with him. This was granted. In that parley the tyrant spoke very reasonably for himself, proving, that he suffered wrong, and had done none ; and that by many good arguments, whereof the sum was, that whatsoever they now did, or could object unto him, was of elder date than the league which they had made with him. Whereupon he inferred, that neither for his keeping the town of Argos, nor for any other cause by them alleged, they ought to make war upon him ; since Argos, and all other their allegations whatsoever, had not hindered them, in time of their more need of him, from entering into that league with him, which was never broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But Quintius was not herewith satisfied. He charged him with tyranny, and gave instance, as easily he might, of divers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points, forasmuch as they knew this Nabis to be guilty, before they made peace and confederacy with him, it was expedient that some other cause of this invasion should be alleged. Wherefore he said further, that this tyrant had occupied Messena, a town confederate with the Romans ; that he had bargained to join with Philip, when he was their enemy, not only in league, but also in affinity ; and that his fleet had robbed many of their ships about the cape of Malea. Now, touching this piracy, since, in the articles by Titus propounded unto Nabis, there was no restitution mentioned, other than of ships by him taken by the Greeks, his neighbours, with whom he had long held war, it may seem to have been objected only by way of compliment, and to enlarge the volume of those complaints, that were otherwise ery frivolous.

As for Messena, and the bargain of alliance made with Philip, they were matters foregoing the league that was made between the Romans and this tyrant, and therefore not to have been mentioned. All this it seems that Aristænus, the prætor of the Achæans, very well perceived; who therefore, doubting lest the Romans (that were wont to talk so much of their own justice, honour, and faithful dealing) should now relent, and forbear to molest him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their confederate, and had never done them wrong, framed his discourse to another end. He entreated Nabis to consider well of his own estate, and to settle his fortunes, whilst he might do it without hazard, alleging the examples of many tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour cities, and therein committed great outrages, yet were afterwards contented to surrender their estates, and lived in great security, honour, and happiness, as private men. Thus they discoursed until night. The next day Nabis was contented to relinquish Argos, and requested them to deliver unto him in writing their other demands, that he might take counsel with his friends. The issue of all was, that, in regard of the charges whereat the confederates must be for maintenance of an army to lie in leagure all that winter (as there was no hope of making short work) before the city of Sparta, they were contented to make peace with the tyrant, upon such conditions as Titus should think meet. Besides the restitution of Argos, and all the places thereon depending, Titus propounded many other conditions to Nabis, and some of them very grievous. He would not suffer the Lacedæmonian to have ought to do in the isle of Crete; no, nor to make any confederacies, nor war, either in that island or elsewhere; nor to build any town or castle upon his own lands; nor to keep any other shipping than two small barks; besides many other troublesome injunctions; with the imposition of an hundred talents in silver, to be

paid out of hand, and fifty talents yearly, for eight years next ensuing. For observance of these covenants, he demanded five hostages, such as he himself should name; and one of them to be the tyrant's own son. If it had been the meaning of Titus to withdraw the war from Nabis, because it was not to be grounded upon justice,—then had it been enough, if not more than enough, to take Argos from him, which he himself did offer, though it were for fear, to deliver up. But if it were thought reasonable to dispense a little with the Roman faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound unto the state of their best friends in Greece, by the extirpation of this tyranny, then should this enterprise, when once it was taken in hand, have been prosecuted unto the very utmost. As for this middle course which the Romans held, as it was not honourable to them to enrich themselves by the spoil of one that had not offended them, nor pleasing to the Achæans, who judged it ever after a great blemish to the noble acts of Titus; so did it minister unto the Ætolians, and to such as curiously pried into the faults of those which took upon them to be patrons of Greece, no barren subject of malicious discourse. For since Philip, a king, and descended of many famous kings, might not be suffered by these masterly Romans to hold any one of those countries or towns in Greece, that had belonged unto his ancestors, it was thought very strange that Lacedæmon, once the most famous city among all the Greeks, was by the same Romans left in possession of a tyrant, that had usurped it but yesterday; and he therein rooted by their authority, as their friend and confederate. Nabis, on the other side, thought himself unmercifully dealt withal by the self-same Romans, whose amity he had preferred in time of a doubtful war, before the love and affinity of the Macedonian king, that had committed the city of Argos into his hands. But falsely had he dealt with

the Macedonian, and falsely was he dealt with by those to whom he did betake himself. Among these articles propounded, there was nothing that pleased him, save only that for the banished Lacedæmonians, (of whom a great number were in the Roman camp, having among them Agesipolis, the natural king of Sparta, that, being a young child, was driven out by Lycurgus, the first of the tyrants,) there was made no provision to have them restored unto their city and estates, but only leave required for as many of their wives as would be so contented to live abroad with them in banishment. Wherefore he forbore to give consent unto these demands, and sustained an assault or two; hoping, belike, that the enemies would soon be weary. But his fearful nature shortly overcame the resolution which the sense of these injuries had put into him. So yielding unto all that had been propounded, he delivered the hostages, and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at Rome by the senate and people. From this time forward, he thought the Romans far more wicked than himself; and was ready, upon the first advantage, to do them all the mischief that he could.

The Argives had heard news that Lacedæmon was even at the point of being taken. This erected them, and gave them heart to think upon their own good; so they adventured to set upon the garrison, which was much weakened by the remove of the three thousand carried thence by Pythagoras to help the tyrant at Sparta. There needed unto their liberty no more than that all of them jointly should set their hands to the getting of it, which no sooner they did than they obtained it. Presently after this came T. Quintius to Argos, where he was joyfully welcomed. He was deservedly acknowledged as author of that benefit whereon the citizens had laid hold without staying for him; and that he might the better entitle himself thereto, he caused the liberty of the Argives to be proclaimed at the Nemean games, as ratifying

it by his authority. The city was annexed again to the council of Achaia, whereby the Achæans were not more strengthened than the Argives themselves were secured from the danger of a relapse into the same extremities out of which they had newly escaped.

After this Titus found little business or none, wherewith to set on work his army in Greece. Antiochus was about to send another embassy to Rome, desiring peace and friendship of the senate. Things being therefore in appearance wholly disposed unto quiet, Scipio the African, that was chosen consul at Rome, could not have his desire of being sent commander into Greece. The insincere meaning of Antiochus, and the tumultuous disposition of the Ætolians, were held as considerations worthy of regard, yet not sufficient causes of making war. Neither appeared there any more honest way of confuting the Ætolians, and of thoroughly persuading all the Greeks (which was not to be neglected by those that meant to assure unto themselves the patronage of Greece) that the good of the country was their sole intent, than by withdrawing thence their legions and leaving the nation unto itself, till occasion should be ripe, and call them over again. Wherefore, after Titus had spent a winter there, without any matter of employment either found, or at any near distance appearing, he called an assembly of delegates from all parts of Greece to Corinth, where he meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted unto them all that had passed since his coming into those parts, and willed them to value the Roman friendship according to the difference of estate wherein the Romans found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counsel, touching the moderate use of their liberty, and the care which they ought to have of living peaceably and without faction. Lastly, he gave up Acrocorinthus to the Achæans, withdrawing thence the Roman garrison, and promising to do the

like (which very soon he did) at Chalcis and Demetrias, that so it might be known what liars the Ætolians were, who had accused the Romans of a purpose to retain those places. With joyful acclamations did the Greeks testify their good-liking of that which Titus had said and done; as also (at his request) they agreed to ransom and enlarge all Romans that had been sold into their country by Hannibal.

Thus Titus crowned his actions in Greece with an happy end; and, by leaving the country before his departure was urged, left therein behind him the memory of his virtues and benefits untainted by jealousy and suspicion of any evil meaning. At his coming to the city he had the honour of a triumph, which was the goodliest of all that Rome had until that day beheld. Three days together the shew of his pomp continued, as being set out with the spoils of a country more abundant in things worthy of such a spectacle than any wherein the Romans had before made war. All sorts of arms, with statues and curious pieces of brass or marble, taken from the enemy, were carried in the first day's pageant. The second day was brought in all the treasure of gold and silver; some in the rude mass unwrought, some in divers sorts of coin, and some in vessels of sundry kinds, that were the more highly prized by the workmanship. Among these were ten shields all of silver, and one of pure gold. The third day Titus himself entered the city in his triumphant chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and fourteen crowns of gold, bestowed upon him by divers cities. There were also led the beasts for sacrifice, the prisoners; and the hostages; among which, Demetrius the son of king Philip, and Armenes the son of Nabis, were principal. After him followed his army, and (which added much grace and good-liking to the shew) the Roman captives, by his procurement, redeemed from slavery in Greece.

Not long after this triumph, he procured audience of the senate for many embassies that were come

out of Greece and Asia. They had all very favourable answers, excepting those of king Antiochus, whom the senate would not hear, but referred over to T. Quintius and the ten that had been his counsellors, because their business was said to be somewhat intricate. Hereat the king's ambassadors wondered. They said unto Titus and his associates, that they could not discern wherein consisted any perplexity of their message; for all treaties of peace and friendship were either between the victor and the vanquished; between those that, having warred together, were upon equal terms of advantage; or between those that had lived always in good agreement, without any quarrel. Unto the victor, they said, that the vanquished must yield, and patiently endure the imposition of some covenants that else might seem unreasonable. Where war had been made, and no advantage gotten, there was it usual to demand and make restitution of things and places claimed, gotten, or lost, accordingly as both parts could agree. But between those which had never fallen out, there ought no conditions of establishing friendship to be proposed, since it was reasonable that each part should hold their own, and neither carry itself as superior unto the other in prescribing ought that might be troublesome. Now of this last kind was the league and friendship that had been so long in conclusion betwixt Antiochus and the Romans; which being so, they held it strange that the Romans should thus insist on points no way concerning them, and take upon them to prescribe unto the king what cities of Asia he should set at liberty, from what cities they would give him leave to exact his wonted tributes, either putting, or not putting his garrisons into them, as the senate should think fit. Hereto Quintius answered, that since they went so distinctly to work, he would also do the like. Wherefore he propounded unto them two conditions, and gave them their choice whether to accept; either that it should be lawful for the Romans to take part

in Asia with any that would seek their friendship,—or, if king Antiochus disliked this, and would have them forbear to meddle in Asia, that then he should abandon whatsoever he had gotten in Europe. This was plain dealing, but no reasonable nor pertinent answer to that which the king's ambassadors had propounded; for, if the Romans might be hired to abstain from Asia by the gift of all that Antiochus had lately won in Europe, then did not the affairs of Smyrna, Lampsacus, or any other Asiatics, whom they were pleased to reckon as their confederates, bind them in honour to make war with a king that sought their love, and had never done them injury. But they knew very well, that Antiochus could not without great shame be so base as to deliver up unto them the city of Lysimachia, whereon of late he had been at so much cost, in building it up even from the foundations, and repeopling it with inhabitants that had been dispersed, or captive to the barbarians. And so much the ambassadors with great indignation alleged, saying, that Antiochus desired friendship of the Romans, but so as it might stand with his honour. Now, in point of honour, the Romans took upon them, as if their cause were far the superior; for it was, they said, their purpose to set at liberty these towns which the king would oppress and hold in subjection; especially since those towns were of Greekish blood and language, and fell in that regard under the patronage which Rome had afforded unto all Greece besides. By this colour they might soon have left Antiochus king of not many subjects on the hither side of the Euphrates; neither did they forbear to say, That unless he would quit what he held in Europe, it was their meaning, not only to protect those which relied upon them in Asia, but therein to make new alliances; namely (as might be understood), with such as were his subjects. Wherefore they urged his ambassadors to come to a point, and tell them plainly which of these

two conditions their king would accept. For lack of a pleasing answer, which the ambassadors could not hereto make, little wanted of giving presently defiance to the king; but they suffered themselves to be entreated, and were contented once again to send over P. Villius, and others that had been already with the king at Lysimachia, by whom they might receive a final answer, whether these demands made by Quintius and his associates would be accepted, yea or no. By this respite of time, and the fruitless entreaties ensuing, Antiochus got the leisure of two years, or thereabouts, to prepare for war, finding in the Romans, all that while, no disposition to let him live in peace.

SECT. V.

Of the long wars which the Romans had with the Gauls, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of M. Portius Cato. Injuries done by Masinissa to the Carthaginians; that sue to the Romans for justice in vain.

THE Insubrians, Boians, and other of the Cisalpine Gauls, together with the Ligurians, made often, and (in a manner) continual war upon the Romans in Italy, even from such time as Hannibal and his brother Mago departed thence, until such time as they themselves were utterly subdued, which was not before the Romans were almost at the very height of their empire. These nations, having served under Mago for wages, and afterwards having gotten Hamilcar, a Carthaginian, to be leader unto them all, as hath been already shewed, by this their fellowship in arms, grew to be such willing partakers of each others fortune, that seldom afterwards either the Gauls or Ligurians did stir alone, but that their companions, hearing it, were ready to second them. How

the Romans first prevailed, and got the large possessions in Gallia Cisalpina¹, now called Lombardy, it hath been long since rehearsed between the first and second Punic wars; as also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that country by means of Hannibal's passage therethrough. Neither is it likely that the re-conquest would have been more difficult or tedious unto the Romans than was the first purchase, if, besides the greater employments which they had of their armies abroad, their forces appointed unto this war had not been distracted by the Ligurians, that always made them to proceed warily, having an eye to the danger at their backs. The Ligurians were a stout nation, light and swift of body, well practised in laying ambushes, and not discouraged with any overthrow, but forthwith ready to fight again. Their country was mountainous, rough, woody, and full of strait and dangerous passages. Few good towns they had, but many castles exceedingly well fortified by nature, so as, without much labour, they could neither be taken nor besieged. They were also very poor, and had little or nothing that might give contentment unto a victorious army that should spoil their land. In these respects they served excellently well to train up the Roman soldiers to hardiness and military patience, teaching them (besides other exercises of war) to endure much, and live contented with a little. Their quarrel to Rome grew partly from their love unto the Gauls their neighbours and companions, partly from their delight in robbing and spoiling the territory of their borderers that were subject unto Rome. But their obstinate continuance in the war which they had begun, seems to have been grounded upon the condition of all savages, to be friends or foes by custom rather than by judgment, and to acknowledge no such virtue in leagues or formal conclusions of peace, as ought to hinder them from using their

¹ Ch. II. Sect. viii. of this Book.

advantage, or taking revenge of injuries when they return to mind. This quality is found in all, or most of the West-Indians; who, if they be demanded a reason of the wars between them and any of their neighbours, use commonly this answer, It hath still been the custom for us and them to fight one against the other.

Divers overthrows, though none that were great, these Ligurians gave unto the Romans; but many more and greater they received. Often they sought peace when they found themselves in distress, and broke it again as often when they thought it profitable so to do. The best was, that as their country was a good place of exercise unto the Romans, so out of their own country they did little harm, not sending any great armies far from home, perhaps, because they knew not how to make war save on their own ground.

The country of Spain, as it was the first part of the continent out of Italy that became subject unto the Romans, so was it the last of all their provinces which was wholly and thoroughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some geographers unto an ox-hide; and the Romans found in it the property of that ox-hide which Calanus the Indian shewed unto the great Alexander, as an emblem of his large dominions; for, treading on any side of it, the further parts would rise from the ground. And thus was it with Spain. Seldom did it happen that those parts, from which the Roman armies lay farthest, were not up in rebellion. The Spaniards were a very hardy nation, and easily stirred up to arms; but had not much knowledge in the art of war, nor any good captains. They wanted also (which was their principal hindrance) good intelligence among themselves; and, being divided into many small seignories that had little other communion than of language, they seldom or never provided in general for the common good of their country, but made it their

chief care each of them to look unto their own territory. Such private respects made them often to fall asunder, when many had united themselves together for chasing out of the Romans. And these were the causes of their often overthrows; as desire of liberty, rather than complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cause of their often taking arms.

The Carthaginians had been accustomed to make evacuation of this choleric Spanish humour, by employing, as mercenaries in their wars abroad, those that were most likely to be unquiet at home. They had also taken soldiers from one part of the country, and used them in another, finding means to pay them all out of the profits which they raised upon the whole country, as being far better husbands, and of more dexterity than were the Romans in that kind. But contrariwise the Romans, using the service of their own legions, and of their sure friends the Latins, had little business for the Spaniards; and therefore were fain to have much business with them. Spain was too far distant, and withal too great, for them to send over colonies thither whereby to hold it in good order, according to the course that they took in Italy. Wherefore it remained, that they should always maintain such armies in the country as might serve to hold in obedience per force; and such needful captains as might be still ready to oppose the barbarians in their first commotion. This they did, and thereby held the country, though seldom in peace.

Very soon after the departure of Scipio, there was raised a war in Spain against the Romans, even upon the same general ground that was the foundations of all the Spanish wars following. It was thought unreasonable that the Spaniards should one while help the Carthaginians against the Romans, and another while the Romans against the Carthaginians; basely forgetting to help themselves against those that were strangers, yet usurped the dominion over them. But the forces which Scipio had left

behind him in that country, being well acquainted with the manner of war in those parts, suppressed this rebellion by many victories ; and, together with subjection, brought peace upon the country, which lasted five years. This victory of the Romans, though it happily ended the war, yet left it still remaining the cause of the war ; which after five years broke out again. The Spaniards fought a battle with the Roman proconsul, whom they slew ; and had a great victory, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happy success of their wars in Greece, made the Romans think it enough to send thither two prætors, and with each of them some two legions. These did somewhat ; yet not so much, but that M. Porcius Cato, who was consul the year following, and sent into that province, found at his coming little less to do than the reconquering of all Spain. But it fell out happily, that all the Spaniards were not of one mind ; some were faithful to Rome, and some were idle beholders of the pains that others took. Yet when Cato had won a great victory upon the chiefest of them, they rose against him in many parts of the country, and put him to much new trouble. Whilst he was about to make a journey against those that were as yet unsubdued, some of the lately vanquished were even ready to rebel. He therefore disarmed them : which they took so heavily, that many of them slew themselves for very grief. Hearing of this, and well understanding that such desperation might work dangerous effects ; he called unto him the principal among them, and commending unto them peace and quietness, which they never had disturbed but unto their own great loss, he prayed them to devise what course might be taken for holding them assured unto Rome, without farther trouble. None of them could, or would give counsel in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their invention barren in this kind of subject, he gave express charge that, upon

a day appointed they should throw down the walls of all their towns. Afterwards he carried the war about from place to place ; and with singular industry finished it in short time. Neither thought he it any disgrace to him, or to Rome, in this time of danger, to imitate the Carthaginians, and hire an army of the Celtiberians against other of their countrymen ; excusing the indignity, such as it seemed, with a jest, That if he were vanquished and slain, then should he need to pay them nothing ; whereas if he had the victory, he could pay them with the enemies' money. Finally he brought the war to so good an end, that in long time after, though Spain were often troublesome, yet was it in no danger of being lost. He increased the public revenues in that province, by causing some mines of iron and silver to be wrought, that had before lain unregarded. Herein he did benefit the commonwealth, by a virtue much agreeable to his own peculiar disposition.

For this M. Cato was not only very notable in the art of war, which might well be then termed, The occupation of the Romans,—but so well furnished with all other useful qualities, that very little was wanting in him which might seem requisite to the accomplishment of a perfect man. He was very skilful in the Roman laws, a man of great eloquence, and not unprofitable in any business either private or public. Many books he wrote ; whereof the principal were, of the Roman antiquities, and of husbandry. In matter of husbandry he was notable, and thereby most increased his substance ; being of mean birth, and the first of his house. Strong of body he was, and exceeding temperate ; so as he lived in perfect health to very old age. But that which most commended him unto the better sort of the Romans, was his great sincerity of life, abstinence from bribes, and fashioning himself to the ancient laudable customs of the city. Herein he had merit.

ed singular commendations, if the vehemency of his nature had not caused him to malign the virtue of that notable Scipio the African, and some other worthy men; that were no less honest than himself, though far less rigid, and more gallant in behaviour. Otherwise he was a very good citizen, and one of such temper that he could fashion himself to all occasions, as if he never were out of his element. He loved business so well, or rather hated vice so earnestly, that, even unto the end of his life, he was exercised in defending himself, or accusing others. For at the age of fourscore and six years, he pleaded in his own defence; and four years after he accused Sergius Galba unto the people. So began the nobility of Cato's family; which ended in his great-grandchild M. Cato the Utican: one that being of like virtue and fervency, had all his good purposes dashed, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of such nobility and greatness as this his ancestor had continually vexed.

The Spanish wars, after Cato's departure out of the country, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many; and the country seldom free from insurrection, in one part or other. The Roman prætors therefore, of which two every year were sent over commanders into Spain, (that was divided into two governments,) did rarely fail of such work as might afford the honour of triumph. One slew thirteen thousand Spaniards in a battle; another took fifty towns; and a third enforced many states of the country to sue for peace. Thus every one of them, or most of them, did some laudable service; and yet so, that commonly there were of men, towns, and people, new that rebelled, instead of the old that were slain, taken, or reclaimed. At the causes hereof I have already pointed; and therefore think it enough to say, that the business in Spain required not the employment of a Roman consul, from

such time as Cato thence departed, until the Numantian war broke out; which was very long after.

In all other countries to the west of the Ionian seas, the Romans had peace; but so had not the Carthaginians. For when Hannibal was gone from them, and that the enemies of the Barchine house promised all felicity which Rome could grant unto themselves and their obedient city, Masinissa fell to disputing with the sword about the title to the best part of their lands. He began with Emporia, a fruitful region about the lesser Syrtis, wherein, among other cities, was that of Leptis, which daily paid a talent unto Carthage for tribute. This country the Numidian challenged; and by winning some part of it, seemed to better his claim unto the whole. He had a great advantage; for that the Carthaginians might not make any war, without leave obtained from their masters the Romans. They had none other way of redress, than by sending to Rome their complaint of his doings. And surely they wanted not good matter to allege, if the judges had been impartial. For besides that Scipio, in limiting out unto them their bounds, had left them the possession of this country, Masinissa himself, now very lately, pursuing a rebel that fled out of his kingdom, desired leave of the Carthaginians for himself to pass through it in his way to Cyrene; thereby acknowledging (had it otherwise been questionable) that the country was theirs. This notwithstanding, Masinissa had therewith to justify his proceedings, especially unto the Roman senate. He gave the fathers to understand by his ambassadors, what faithless people the Carthaginians were, and how ill affected to the state of Rome. There had lately been sent unto them from Hannibal one that should persuade them to take part with Antiochus. This man they had examined, upon some suspicion of his errand; yet neither arresting him nor his ship, had thereby afforded him means to escape. Hence the

Numidian concluded, that certainly it was their purpose to rebel ; and therefore good policy to keep them down. As for the country of Emporia, it had always, he said, been theirs that were able to hold it by strong hand ; and so belonged sometimes unto the Numidian kings, though now of late it was in possession of the Carthaginians. But if truth were known, the citizens of Carthage had not any very warrantable title unto any more ground than that whereon their city stood ; or scarcely to so much. For they were no better than strangers in Africa, that had gotten leave there to build upon so much ground as they could encompass with an ox-hide cut into small thongs. Whatsoever they held without such a compass, was purchased by fraud, and wrongful encroachments. This considered, Masinissa requested of the senate, that they would not adjudge unto such usurpers the country sometimes appertaining to the ancestors of him their assured friend. The Romans having heard these allegations on both sides, found the matter so doubtful, that they could not on the sudden tell what to determine. Wherefore, because they would do nothing rashly, they sent over three ambassadors, of whom P. Scipio the African was one and the chief, to decide the controversy ; yet secretly giving them instructions to leave all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The ambassadors followed their directions, and left all doubtful. So was it likely that Masinissa, with a strong army, should quickly prevail against those that could no more than talk of their right, and exclaim against the wrong. By such arts were the Carthaginians held, not only from stirring in favour of king Antiochus, if they had thereto any disposition, but were prepared by little and little unto their final destruction, that came upon them when the Romans had leisure to express the utmost of their hatred.

SECT. VI.

The Etolians labour to provoke Antiochus, Philip, and Nabis, to war upon the Romans, by whom they hold themselves wronged and disgraced. Nabis besiegeth Gyttheum, and wasteth some part of Achæa. The exact skill of Philopæmen, in advantage of ground, whereby he utterly vanquisheth Nabis. Antiochus being denied peace by the Romans, joins with the Ætolians. The Etolians surprise Demetrius; and by killing Nabis their confederate, seize upon Sparta. But they are driven out by the citizens, who, at Philopæmen's persuasions, annex themselves to the Achæans.

ALL Greece being at peace, and the Roman armies thence departed, it grieved much the Etolians to think, that they, who had promised unto themselves the whole spoil of Philip, and the highest reputation among the Greeks, were not only disappointed of their covetous hopes, but quite forsaken by their ancient dependants, and of all other the most unregarded. Yet was there made a great access to their estate, by adding much unto them of that which had been taken from the Macedonian. This might have well sufficed them, if their desires had not been immoderate, and their indignation more vehement than their desire. But they were not so pleased with that which they had, since they thought it no more than part of their due; as they were vexed with the denial of that which they claimed, and with finding themselves to be wholly disesteemed, wherein they thought that they had unsufferable wrong. Wherefore they devised in a parliament, which they shortly held, by what means they might best right themselves, and give the Romans a

sorrowful knowledge of the difference between their enmity and friendship. To this purpose they soon agreed, as concurring all in one affection, that they would not only persuade Antiochus to make war upon the Romans, as one to whom the Romans had long refused peace, but that they would deal with the king of Macedon their ancient enemy, and with Nabis the tyrant of Lacedæmon, to join altogether in a new confederacy; whose joint forces could not in all likelihood but far surmount those of the Romans, Achæans, Rhodians, and king Eumenes, with all that were of their faction. This was a great enterprise which the Ætolians took in hand; and well-beseeming them, for they were great darers. They sent ambassadors to all these kings, with persuasions, as they thought, most forcible. But Philip was irresolute; and Antiochus willing to try first all other courses. Nabis the Lacedæmonian, who neither (as Philip) had lost much, nor (as Antiochus) was in fear of any war, yet shewed himself of all other the most forward; and not staying so much as to seek any good pretence, began immediately to lay siege to Gyttheum, that had been lately taken from him by the Romans. The Achæans, to whose care, chiefly, Titus, at his departure, had commended the affairs of Peloponnesus, were not slow to admonish Nabis of his duty; neither would they have staid long from repressing his violence by open war, had not some of them thought it wisdom to ask counsel of the Romans, and particularly of T. Quintius, before they engaged themselves in a business of such importance. Whilst thus they spent time in sending ambassadors, and were advised by Quintius to let all alone, and to wait for the coming of the Roman forces, that would shortly be amongst them, Nabis was bold to give them juster cause of complaint by wasting their own territory.

Philopoemen was then prætor of the Achæans, who had long been absent in Crete, making war

there for his mind's sake and recreation. Unto him the Achæans referred themselves, giving him leave to order the war at his pleasure; either staying until the Romans came, or doing otherwise, as he should think best. He made all haste to relieve Gyttheum by sea; fearing lest the town, and the Achæan garrison within it, should be lost, if he used any delay. But Philopœmen was so bad a seaman, that he knew not a strong ship from a rotten. He made a quadrireme galley his admiral, that had four-score years ago been counted a gallant vessel in the navy of Antigonus Gonatas. Neither was the rest of his fleet so good as might encounter with that of the Lacedæmonian. Only it fell out well that he committed himself to a light pinnace, or brigantine, that fought better with her wings, than with her talons. For his admiral galley was stemmed at the first; and being rotten with age, sprang so many leaks, and took in water so fast, that she was fain to yield without further resistance. When the rest of the fleet saw what was become of their admiral, all were presently discouraged, and saved themselves with what speed they could. But Philopœmen was not herewith daunted. If he had failed in sea-service, which was none of his occupation, he said, that he would make amends by land. The tyrant withdrew part of his army from the siege of Gyttheum, to stop the Achæans, if they should invade his country. But upon these, which were placed in guard of Laconia, Philopœmen came unexpected, fired their camp, and put all, save a very few of them, to the sword. Then marched he with all his army towards Lacedæmon; within ten miles whereof he was, when the tyrant met him, that had already taken Gyttheum. It was not expected that Nabis would have been ready for them so soon: or if he should come from Gyttheum with any part of his forces, yet was it thought that he must overtake them, and charge them in rear. They marched,

therefore, almost securely, in a long troop reaching some five miles, having their horse, and the greatest part of their auxiliaries, at their backs, to bear off any sudden impression. But Nabis, who formerly understood, or at least suspected, what course they would take, appeared in front of them with all his army; encamped there where they meant to have lodged. It was the custom of Philopœmen, when he walked or travelled abroad with his friends, to mark the situation of the country about him, and to discourse what might befall an army marching the same way. He would suppose, That having with him there such a number of soldiers, ordered and sorted in such manner, and marching towards such a place, he were upon that ground encountered by a greater army, or better prepared to fight. Then would he put the question, whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a stand? what piece of ground it were meet for him to seize upon; and in what manner he might best do it? In what sort he should order his men? Where bestow his carriages; and under what guard? In what sort encamp himself? and which way march the day following? By such continual meditation, he was grown so perfect, that he never met with any difficulty whence he could not extricate himself and his followers. At this time he made a stand; and having drawn up his rear, he encamped near unto the place where he was, within half a mile of the enemy. His baggage, with all thereto belonging, he bestowed on a rock, encompassing them round with his soldiers. The ground was rough, the ways bad, and the day almost quite spent, so as Nabis could not at the present greatly molest him. Both armies were to water at one brook, whereto the Achæans lay the nearer. This watering therefore was like to minister the first occasion of skirmish. Philopœmen understood this, and laid an ambush in place convenient, whereinto the mercenaries of Nabis fell, and were slaughtered.

in great numbers. Presently after this, he caused one of his own auxiliaries to go to the tyrant as a fugitive, and tell him, That the Achæans had a purpose to get between him and Lacedæmon, whereby they would both debar his return into the city, and withal encourage the people to take arms for the recovery of their freedom. The tyrant hearing this, marched hastily away, and left his camp, which hardly otherwise would have been forced. Some companies he made to stay behind, and shew themselves upon the rampart, thereby to conceal his departure. But Philopœmen was not so to be beguiled. He easily won the camp, and gave chase to Nabis; whose followers being overtaken, had not courage to turn about and make head. The enemies being thus dispersed, and fled into woods, where they lay in covert all that day, Philopœmen conceived aright, that their fear and necessity would teach them to creep homewards, and save themselves when it grew dark. Wherefore in the evening, when he had gathered together all those of his light armature, which had followed the chase whilst it was day; he led forth the rest that had well refreshed themselves, and occupied the two most ordinary passages unto Lacedæmon. So Nabis's men, when it was dark night, perceiving in Philopœmen's camp great store of lights, thought that all had been at rest; and therefore adventured to make an escape home. But they were so way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into Sparta. Thirty days together after this did Philopœmen waste the country round about, whilst Nabis durst not issue forth of his town, and then returned home, leaving the tyrant in a manner without forces.

The Roman ambassadors were then in Greece, and T. Quintius among them, labouring to make their party strong against Antiochus and Nabis, whom they knew to be solicited by the Ætolians. Very fair countenance they also made unto Philip;

and with comfortable promises drew him to make shew whatsoever he thought of good correspondence. They promised to restore unto him his son ; and were contented to let him hope that he should receive other favours at their hands, and regain possessions of many places by them taken from him. Thus did the Romans prepare for war against Antiochus in Greece, whilst their ambassadors that were with him in Asia denied otherwise to grant him peace, than if he would yield unto one of the conditions by them so often propounded. The long absence of this king in Syria, where he had accomplished the marriage between Ptolemy and his daughter, together with the death of young Antiochus the king's son, which happened during the treaty, and hindered, or seemed to hinder, the king from giving audience in person to the ambassadors, caused them to return home to Rome, as uncertain of their answer as at their setting forth. One thing that might have been, and partly was beneficial unto them, they brought to pass during their abode at Ephesus, either by cunning, or (as Livy rather thinks) by chance. Finding Hannibal there, they discoursed often with him, and blamed him for having thus fled unto Antiochus, upon a causeless suspicion wherein he held the Romans, that honoured his virtue, and intended no harm. Many have affirmed that P. Scipio was one of these ambassadors ; and that he, among other discourses with Hannibal, demanded once, ' Which ' of all the famous captains that had lived, Hannibal judged the most worthy ? ' So Hannibal gave to Alexander of Macedon the first place, to Pyrrhus the second, and the third he challenged unto himself. But Scipio, who thought his own title better than that it ought to be so forgotten, asked yet further, what wouldst thou have said then, Hannibal, if thou hadst vanquished me ? To whom the Carthaginian replied, then would not I have given the first place to Alexander, but have claimed it as due

unto myself. Now whether this were so, or otherwise, the often and friendly conference of Hannibal with the Roman ambassadors, made him suspected of Antiochus, who therefore did forbear awhile to use his counsel. Yet afterwards, when Hannibal perceived this change in the king, and plainly desiring him to tell the cause thereof, heard what it was, he easily recovered his former grace and credit. For he told how his father had caused him to swear at the altars, when he was a little boy, that he never should be a friend unto the Romans. Wherefore he willed the king not to regard any vain surmises; but to know thus much, that as long as he thought upon war with Rome, so long would Hannibal do him all good service; whereas, contrariwise, if he pretended to make peace, then should it behove him to use the counsel of some other man.

The Ætolians and their friends were no less busy all this while in making their party strong against the Romans, than were the Romans in mustering up their friends in Greece. They had so often dealt with Antiochus, vaunting much of their own forces, and arrogating to themselves the honour of the victory against Philip, that, finally, they prevailed with him; especially when the Roman ambassadors had left him without hope of peace, unless he would buy it at too dear a rate. They dealt in like sort with the Macedonian, but in vain. He understood the Romans and himself too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improve their own forces to the utmost, as knowing that all the burden must lie upon Antiochus and themselves, without help from any, save only from some few that were discontented in Greece. Whilst they were about this, and had with them an ambassador of the king Antiochus, that animated them to resolution, the Athenian ambassadors, whom Titus had requested to be at their meeting, stayed their vehemency a little, by exhorting them not to conclude rashly, without first hearing

the Romans that lay near at hand. For want of a ready answer hereto, they were contented to approve the motion. Titus, hearing this, thought the business worthy of his presence. For since Antiochus had now declared himself against the Romans, it would be no small piece of service to withdraw from his friendship those by whose encouragement he had made the adventure. Wherefore he came to their *Panætolium*, or great assembly of the nation, where he forgot nothing that might serve to appease them. He willed them to consider the weight of the enterprise which they took in hand, whereby Greece was like to become a campaign field, on which, to the ruin of the country, the Romans, and king Antiochus, that commanded no small part of the world, should fight for the mastery; the *Ætolians*, as masters in that kind of fence, setting them on, and becoming *the sticklers*¹. As for those grievances which did thus exasperate them, and urge them to such violent courses, he willed them to consider how slight they were, and how much better they might do to send ambassadors to Rome, that should either plead their right in the senate, or, (if their right unto the places which they claimed were not good,) make request to what they desired, than thus to set the world in an uproar, and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what he said, or could say, it skilled not much. They had already done ill to make the ambassador of the king, whose help they had sought, wait so long for an answer, and stay doubting what good end they should make with the Romans. Neither was it news unto them to hear those comfortable words, that, by sending to Rome, they might happen to obtain what they desired; either as their right, or else by way of favour. For with such terms had they been feasted once already, and were by the senate rejected unto Titus; who, having it in his own power, gave them no satisfaction; yet would now again refer them to the

1 Liv. 35. Admistis *Ætolis* forté, *lanistis*.

senate. This were only loss of time, and might abate their credit with Antiochus. Wherefore, without more ado they made a decree, that king Antiochus the Great should be entreated to come over into Greece, as well to set the country at liberty, as also to decide the controversies depending between the Romans and Ætolians. Such a decree they would not have made, had they not understood the king's mind before. Having made it, they forgot no point of bravery, whereby to vaunt themselves to the king's ambassadors, and against the Romans. Titus desired of their prætor to let him see a copy of this new decree. The prætor answered that then he had other things to do; but that this decree, and their further answer, they would shortly let him know, if he came to their camp in Italy upon the river of Tiberis. Gentler words would have done better, as the Ætolians are like to understand hereafter. But having thus begun, they meant henceforth to go roundly to work. The care of the war they referred unto the more private council of their nation; that no occasion might slip in waiting for the authority of a general assembly. The *Apocleti*, (so were the privy council of Ætolia called,) went as hotly to work as any of the youngest heads could have done. They laid a plot, how to get into their hands at one time the towns of Chalcis, Demetrias, and Sparta; to each of which they sent men for the purpose. Demetrias they took upon the sudden, entering, some of them, as friends to conduct home a principal man of the city, who, for speaking words against T. Quintius, had been driven to fly thence, but was, by intercession of those who loved him, again recalled. His Ætolian companions, that were not many, seized upon a gate, whereat they let in a troop which they had not left far behind them, and so fell to murdering the chief of the Roman faction. At Chalcis they sped not so well. Thither also they had a banished man to bring home; but they came so strong, that

their purpose was discovered, and the town prepared to defend itself against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this hostility, they gave a gentle answer, saying, that they came not thither as enemies, but only to deliver the town from the Romans, who more insolently domineered over it than ever the Macedonians had done; by which rhetoric they prevailed no more than they could do by plain force; for the townsmen replied, that they neither found any abridgment of their liberty, nor needed any garrison to keep them from the Romans, from whom they neither feared any danger, nor received injury. So this business was dashed. The attempt upon Sparta was more strange and desperate. Nabis, their good friend, was lord of the town, styling himself king, but more truly by all men called tyrant. He had well-near lost all by means of the overthrow which Philopœmen had lately given him, since he durst not stir abroad, and daily expected the mischief that on all sides threatened him. Wherefore he sent messengers, one after another, to the Ætolians, requesting them, that as he had not been slow to stir in their behalf, but adventured himself upon the utmost of danger, when all others were backward, so they would be pleased to send him what help they might, since his bad fortune had caused him at present to need it. It hath been often said, that the ravenous Ætolians were only true to themselves, and regarded neither faith nor friendship, otherwise than as it might conduce to their own ends; and so dealt they now; for since Nabis's mercenary forces, which upheld his tyranny, were in a manner consumed, they thought it expedient for their estate to put him out of the way, and, by so doing, to assure Lacedemon unto themselves. To this purpose they sent thither Alexamenus, one whom they thought a man fit for such a work. To him they gave a thousand foot and thirty horse, chosen for the purpose. These thirty were, by Democritus, the prætor, brought into the council of the

Apocleti, where they were commanded to be no wiser than they should be, nor to think that they were sent to make war with the Achæans, or to do ought else save only what Alexamenus should command them; which, were it never so desperate, and, in seeming, against all reason, yet must they understand that, unless they performed it, they should have no good welcome home. So Alexamenus came to the tyrant, whom he encouraged with brave words, telling him that Antiochus was already in Europe, and would be anon in Greece, meaning to cover all the land and sea with his mighty armies; and that the Romans were like to find other manner of work than of late with Philip, since the elephants of this great king, without other help, would suffice to tread them down. As for the Ætolians, he said, that if need should so require, they would presently send away to Lacedemon all the forces that they could raise; but that they were very desirous at the present to make as goodly a muster as they could before the great king, which caused them to send him thither afore with no greater company. Hereupon he willed Nabis to take heart, bring forth his men that had been long pent up in the city, and train them without the walls, as if shortly he should employ them in work of conquest rather than defence. Nabis was glad of this, and daily exercised his men in the field, riding up and down with his Alexamenus, and no more than three or four horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, Alexamenus made it his fashion to step aside alone to his Ætolians, and say somewhat as he thought fit; which done, he still returned again to Nabis. But when he saw time for the great work that he had in hand, he then went aside to his thirty horse-men, and bade them remember the task enjoined them at their setting forth, telling them that they were all in case of banished men unless they would anon come up to him and help

him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Herewithal the tyrant began to draw near them; and Alexamenus, making towards him, charged him on the sudden and struck him down. The thirty Ætolians never stood to deliberate upon the matter, but all flew in; and, before any succour could arrive, had made an end of this wretched Nabis. Presently, upon the fact committed, the tyrant's mercenaries ran unto the dead body, where, instead of seeking revenge, they stood foolishly gazing as beholders. Alexamenus, with his Ætolians, hasted into the city and seized on the palace, where he fell to ransacking the treasure, and troubled himself with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his followers as were dispersed in the town did also the like, with the greater indignation of the citizens, who, seeing themselves free by the death of the tyrant, could not endure to see those that had slain him begin to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the town was shortly in arms; and, for lack of another captain, they took a little boy of the royal stock, that had been brought up with Nabis's children, whom they mounted upon a good horse, and made him their chief. So they fell upon the Ætolians that were idly straggling about, and put them all to the sword. Alexamenus with not many of his company, were slain keeping the citadel; and those few that escaped thence into Arcadia, were taken by the magistrates, who sold them all as bond-slaves. In this doubtful estate of things at Lacedemon, Philopoemen came thither, who, calling out the chief of the city, and speaking such words unto them as Alexamenus should have done after he had slain the tyrant, easily persuaded them, for their own good and safety, to incorporate themselves with the Achæans. Thus, by the enterprise, no less dishonourable than difficult, of the Ætolians, and the small but effectual travel of Philopoemen, the Achæans made a notable purchase; and Lacedemon, that had hitherto been governed

either by kings, or by tyrants that called themselves kings, became the member of a commonwealth; whereof the name had scarce any reputation when Sparta ruled over all Greece.

SECT. VII.

Antiochus, persuaded by Thoas the Ætolian, comes over into Greece ill attended. Sundry passages between him, the Ætolians, Chalcidians, and others. He wins Chalcis, and thereby the whole isle of Eubœa. The vanity of the king's ambassadors and the Ætolians, with the civil answer of Titus to their discourse before the Achæans. That it concerned the Greeks to have desired peace between the Romans and Antiochus, as the best assurance of their own liberty. Of many petty estates that fell to the king. Of Aminander, and an idle vanity by which king Philip was lost. Hannibal gives good counsel in vain. Some towns won in Thessaly. The king retires to Chalcis, where he marrieth a wife and revels away the rest of winter. Upon the coming of the Roman consul, all forsake Antiochus. He, with two thousand Ætolians, keeps the Straits of Thermopylæ. He is beaten, and flies into Asia, leaving all Greece unto the victors.

ANTIOCHUS was troubled much in Asia with Smyrna and Lampsacus, that would not hearken to any composition. He thought it neither safe nor honourable to leave them enemies behind him; and to win them by force was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was he desirous, with all speed convenient, to shew himself in Greece, where, he had been told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, that in all the country there was a very small number which bore hearty affection unto the Romans;

that Nabis was already up in arms; that Philip was like a ban-dog in a chain, desiring nothing more than to break loose; and that the Ætolians, without whom the Romans had done nothing, nor nothing could have done, were ready to confer upon him the greatness which they had unworthily bestowed upon insolent barbarians. Of all this, the least part was true; yet that which was true made such a noise as added credit unto all the rest. Whilst, therefore, the king was thinking to send Hannibal into Africa, there to molest the Romans, and so give him the better leisure of using his own opportunities in Greece, Thoas the Ætolian came over to him, and bade him lay all other care aside; for that his countrymen had already taken Demetrias, a town of main importance, that should give him entertainment, whence he might proceed as became the greatness of his virtue and fortune. This did serve to cut off all deliberation. As for Hannibal, Thoas was bold to tell the king, first, that it was not expedient for him to divide his forces at such a time, when the very reputation of his numbers brought into Greece might serve to lay open unto him all places, without need of using violence; and, secondly, that in any such great enterprise there could not be chosen a more unfit man to be employed in the king's service than was that famous Hannibal the Carthaginian. For, he said that the king should as greatly feel the loss of a fleet or army perishing under such a notable commander, if his fortune were bad, as if the same had miscarried under one of meaner quality; whereas, nevertheless, if Hannibal prevailed, Hannibal alone should have all the honour, and not Antiochus. In this regard, he was of opinion, that such a renowned warrior should be always near unto the king's person to give advice; which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good success would wholly redound unto the honour of him that had the sovereign command, even of the king himself. Antio-

thus gladly hearkened unto this admonition, being jealous of the virtue that shined brighter than the majesty of his own fortune; and thereupon he laid aside the determination, which tended more to the advancement of his desires, than did any thing else by him then or after thought upon.

Presently after this, he made ready for Greece. Before his setting forth, in a frivolous pomp of ceremony, he went up from the sea-side to Ilium, there to do sacrifice to Minerva of Troy. Thence passing over the *Ægean* sea, he came to Demetrias. Eurylochus, the Magnetian, the same whom the *Ætolians* lately waited on home, when by that pretext they won Demetrias, was now the chief man and ruler of his nation. He therefore, with his countrymen, in great frequency, came to do their duties to the king Antiochus, and bid him welcome. The king was glad of this, and took it as a sign of good luck to be so entertained at the beginning. But it may be suspected, that the Magnetians found not the like cause of joy; for whereas they had expected a fleet and army somewhat like to that of Xerxes, they saw three hundred ships, of which no more than forty were serviceable for the wars, with an army of ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants. The *Ætolians* no sooner heard of his coming, than they called a parliament, and made a decree, whereby they invited him into their country. He knew before that they would so do, and was therefore well onward on his way towards them, when they met him that brought the decree. At his coming to Lania, the *Ætolians* gave him as joyful entertainment as they could devise. Being brought into their council, he made an oration, wherein he desired them to hold him excused that he came not followed with a greater army. This was, he said, in true estimation, a sign of his good-will, in that he staid not to make all things ready, but hasted unto their aid, whilst even the season was unfit for navigation. Yet

it should not be long ere the hope of all those which had expected him would be satisfied unto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all Greece with armies, and all the sea-coasts with his fleet. Neither would he spare for any charge, travel, or danger, to follow the business which he had undertaken, even to drive the Romans and their authority out of Greece; leaving the country free indeed, and the Ætolians therein the chief. Now, as the armies that were following him should be very great, so it was his meaning that all provisions to them belonging should be correspondent, because he would not be any way burdensome unto his confederates. But at the present he must needs intreat them, having hastily come over unto their aid, unprovided of many necessaries, that they would help him with corn and other victuals, whereof he stood in need. So he left them to their consultation; the conclusion whereof was, after a little dispute (for a vain motion was made by some, that the differences between the Romans and them should be put by compromise to the decision of Antiochus,) that they would yield unto the king's desire, and assist him with all their forces. Here we may observe, how vain a thing it is for an absolute prince to engage himself, as did Antiochus, in a business of dangerous importance, upon the promised assurance of a state that is merely popular. For if the vehemency of Thoas, and some other of that faction, had not prevailed in this council, the Ætolians, for gain of two or three towns, yea, for hope of such gain that might have deceived them, were like to have abandoned this king, their friend, unto the discretion of the Romans. And what remedy had there been if this had so fallen out? He could have bemoaned himself to Thoas, and complained of the wrong; but he must have been contented with this answer, That the fault was in those of the opposite side, whom Thoas would therefore have pronounced to be very wicked men. It happened much

better for the present ; though in the future it proved much worse, both for him and for the Ætolians. He was chosen general of all their forces ; and thirty commissioners were appointed to be about him, as a council of war for the nation. These armed such as readily they could, whilst it was in dispute where they should begin the war. Chalcis was thought the meetest place to be first undertaken, whither, if they came suddenly, they should not, peradventure, need to use much force. The king had brought with him into Ætolia but a thousand foot, leaving the rest behind him at Demetrias. With these he hasted away directly towards Chalcis, being overtaken by no great number of the Ætolians which accompanied him thither. At his coming, the magistrates, and some of the chief citizens, issued forth to parley with him. There the Ætolians began, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the Romans had only in words and false semblance set Greece at liberty. But such liberty as might be true and useful, they said, would never be obtained, until, by removing the necessity of obeying their pleasure that were most mighty, every several state had where to find redress of any pressure. And to this end was the great Antiochus come thither ; a king well able to counterpoise, yea, to outweigh the Romans ; who nevertheless desired them only so to join with him in league, as that, if either the Romans or he should offer them wrong, they might keep it in their power to seek redress at the others hands. The Chalcidians made hereto the same answer which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before,—That their freedom was not imaginary, but absolute ; for which they were to thank the Romans ; without whose good liking they would enter into no new confederacy. That which they spake of themselves they could likewise affirm of all the Greeks, forasmuch as none of them paid any tribute, was kept under by any garrison, or lived

otherwise than by their own laws, and without being tied unto condition which displeased them. Wherefore they wondered why the king should thus trouble himself, to deliver cities that were already free. But since he and the Ætolians requested their friendship, they besought both him and the Ætolians to do a friendly office, in departing from them quietly, and leaving them in such good case as they were. With this answer the king departed; for he was not, as then, strong enough to force them. But very soon after, he brought thither a greater power which terrified them, and made them yield before all the succours could arrive which Titus had sent for their defence.

The chief city of Eubœa being thus gotten, all the rest of the island shortly yielded to Antiochus. Four or five hundred Roman soldiers that came over late to have defended Chalcis, reposed themselves at Delium, a little town of Bœotia, lying over-against the island, where was a temple and grove consecrated unto Apollo, that had the privilege of an inviolable sanctuary. In this place were some of them walking, and beholding the things there to be seen, whilst others were busied as they found cause, without fear of any danger, as being in such a place, and no war hitherto proclaimed. But Menippus, one of Antiochus's captains, that had wearied himself in many vain entreaties of peace, took advantage of their carelessness, and used them with all extremity of war. Very few of them escaped; fifty were taken, and the rest slain. Hereat Quintius was grieved; yet so as it pleased him well to consider, that his Romans had now more just cause, than before, to make war upon the king.

Antiochus liked well these beginnings, and sent ambassadors into all quarters of Greece, in hope that his reputation should persuade very many to take his part. The wiser sort returned such answer as the Chalcidians had done. Some reserved

themselves until he should come among them; knowing that either, if he came not, he must hold them excused for not daring to stir; or, if he came, the Romans must pardon their just fear in yielding to the stronger. None of those that lay far off joined with him in true meaning, save the Æleans, that always favoured the Ætolians, and now feared the Achæans. Little reason there was that he would think to draw the Achæans to his party. Nevertheless he essayed them, upon a vain hope that the envy, which Titus was said to bear unto Philopœmen's virtue, had bred a secret dislike between that nation and the Romans. Wherefore both he and the Ætolians sent ambassadors to the council at Ægium, that spared not brave words, if the Achæans would have so been taken. The king's ambassador told of great armies and fleets that were coming; reckoning up the Dahans, Medians, Ælimeans, and Cadusians; names that were not every day heard of, and therefore, as he thought, the more terrible. Then told he them, what notable men at sea the Sydonians, Tyrians, Aradians, and Pamphylians were; such, indeed, as could not be resisted. Now concerning money, and all warlike furniture, it was, he said, well known, that the kingdoms of Asia had always thereof great plenty. So as they were much deceived; who, considering the late war made against Philip, did think that this with Antiochus would prove the like: the case was too far different. Yet this most powerful king, that for the liberty of Greece was come from the utmost parts of the east, requested no more of the Achæans, than that they would hold themselves as neutral, and quietly look on, whilst he took order with the Romans. To the same effect spoke the Ætolian ambassador; and further added, That in the battle of Cynoscephalæ, neither Titus had done the part of a general, nor the Romans of good soldiers; but that both he and his army had been there destroyed, had they not been

protected by virtue of the Ætolians, which carried the day. Titus was present at the council, and heard all this ; to which he made as fit answer as could have been desired. He told the Achæans, That neither the king's ambassador, nor the Ætolians, did so greatly labour to persuade those unto whom they addressed their orations, as to vaunt themselves the one unto the other. So as a man might well discern what good correspondence in vanity it was that had thus linked the king and the Ætolians together. For even such brags as here they made before the Achæans, who knew them to be liars, had the Ætolians also made unto king Antiochus, proclaiming the victory over Philip to be merely their act, and the whole country of Greece to be dependant on them. Interchangeably had they been feasted by the king with such tales as his ambassador told even now, of Dahans, and Aradians, and Eli-means, and many others, that were all but a company of Syrians, such as were wont to be sold about for bond-slaves, and good for little else. These divers names of rascally people were, he said, like to the diversity of venison wherewith a friend of his at Chalcis (no such vaunter as were these ambassadors) had sometime feasted him. For all that variety, whereat he wondered, was none other, as his host then merrily told him, than so many pieces of one tame swine, dressed after several fashions, with variety of sauces. Setting, therefore, aside this vanity of idle pomp, it were good to make judgment of the great king by his present doings. He had, notwithstanding all this great noise, no more than ten thousand men about him ; for which little army he was fain, in a manner, to beg victuals of the Ætolians, and take up money at usury, to defray his charges. And thus he ran up and down the country ; from Demetrias to Lamia ; thence back to Chalcis ; and being there shut out, to Demetrias again. These were the fruits of lies ; wherewith since both Anti-

ochus and the Ætolians had each deluded other, meet it was that they should, as perhaps already they did, repent, whilst wiser men took heed by their example. To a favourable auditory, much persuasion is needless. The Achæans did not love so well the Ætolians, as to desire that they should become princes of Greece; but rather wished to see them, of all other, made the veriest abjects. Wherefore they stood not to hearken after news, what Antiochus did, how he sped in Eubœa, or what other cities were like to take his part, but readily proclaimed war against him, and against the Ætolians.

How the hatred between these two nations grew inveterate sufficiently appears in the story foregoing. Now have they gotten each their patrons; the one the Romans, the other king Antiochus. Herein did each of them unwisely; though far the greater blame ought to be laid on the turbulent spirits of the Ætolians. For when the Romans departed out of Greece, and left the country at rest, there was nothing more greatly to have been desired, than that they might never find occasion to return with an army thither again. And in this respect ought the Greeks to have sought, not how Smyrna and Lampsacus might recover their liberty (which had never been held a matter worth regarding until now of late), but how the powers of the east and west, divided and kept asunder by their country, as two seas by an isthmus or neck of land might be kept from overflowing the bar that parted them. Neither had the Romans any better pretence for their seeking to make free those base Asiatics, which originally were Greeks, than the general applause wherewith all the nation entertained this their loving offer. Yet were Lysimachia and the towns in Thrace lately gotten by Antiochus, pretended as a very great cause of fear, that should move them to take arms even in their defence. But if all Greece would have made intercession, and requested that

things might continue as they were, promising jointly to assist the Romans with their whole forces both by land and sea, whensoever king Antiochus should make the least offer to stir against them,—then had not only this quarrel been at an end, but the Roman patronage over the country had been far from growing, as soon after it did, into a lordly rule.

The Achæans were at this time in a manner the only nation of Greece that freely and generously declared themselves altogether for the Romans, their friends and benefactors. All the rest gave doubtful answers of hope unto both sides ; or if some few, as did the Thessalians, were firm against Antiochus, yet helped they not one another in the quarrel, nor shewed themselves his enemies, till he pressed them with open force. The Bœotians willingly received him as soon as he entered upon their borders, not so much for fear of his power, as in hatred of Titus and the Romans, by whom they had been somewhat hardly used. Aminander the Athamanian, besides his old friendship with the Ætolians, was caught with a bait, which it may be doubted whether he did more foolishly swallow or Antiochus cast out. He had married the daughter of an Arcadian, that was an idle-headed man, and vaunted himself to be descended from Alexander the great, naming his two sons, in that regard, Philip and Alexander. Philip, the elder of these brethren, accompanied his sister to the poor court of Athamania ; where, having made his folly known, by talking of his pedigree, he was judged, by Antiochus and the Ætolians, a man fit for their turns. They made him believe that, in regard of his high parentage, and the famous memory of Alexander his forefather, it was their purpose to do their best for the conquest of Macedon to his behoof, since no man had thereto so good a title as he. But for the enabling of them hereunto, it behoved him to draw Aminander to their party, that so they might the sooner have done with the Romans. Philip

was highly pleased herewith, and, by persuasions of himself or of his sister, effected as much as they desired. But the first piece of service done by this imaginary king (whether it proceeded from his own frenzy, in hope to get love of the Macedonians that should be his subjects, or whether from some vanity in king Antiochus that employed him,) wrought more harm to his friends than he and Aminander were able to do good. There were two thousand men committed to his leading, with which he marched unto Cynoscephalæ, there to gather up the bones of the slaughtered Macedonians, whom their king had suffered all this while to lie unburied. The Macedonians troubled not themselves to think on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all; but king Philip took it in high indignation, as intended merely unto his despite. Wherefore he presently sent unto the Romans, and gave them to understand that he was ready, with all his power, to aid them wherein they should be pleased to use him.

The Ætolians, Magnetians, Eubœans, Boeotians, and Athamanians, having now all joined with him, Antiochus took counsel of them about the prosecution of the war in hand. The chief question was, Whether it were meet for him to invade Thessaly, that would not hearken to his persuasions; or whether to let all alone until the spring? because it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and some another, confirming each his own sentence with the weightiest reasons which he could allege, as in a matter of great importance. Hannibal was at this meeting, who had long been cast aside, as a vessel of no use, but was now required to deliver his opinion. He freely told the king, That what he should now utter was even the same which he would have spoken had his counsel at any time before been asked since their coming into Greece; for the Magnetians, Boeotians, and other their good friends, which now so

willingly took their parts, what were they else than so many poor estates that, wanting force of their own, did adjoin themselves for fear unto him that was strongest at the present; and would afterwards, when they saw it expedient, be as ready to fall to the contrary side, alledging the same fear for their excuse? Wherefore he thought it most behoveful to win king Philip of Macedon unto their party, who (besides that being once engaged he should not afterwards have power to recoil and forsake them at his pleasure) was a mighty prince, and one that had means to sustain the Roman war with his proper forces. Now, that Philip might be easily persuaded to join with them, the benefit likely to redound unto himself by their society was a very strong argument; though, indeed, what need was there of proving by inference the likelihood of this hope? ‘For,’ said he, ‘these Ætolians here present, and namely this Thoas, being lately ambassador from them into Asia, among other motives which he then used to excite the king unto this expedition, insisted mainly on the same point. He told us, that Philip was moved beyond all patience with the lordly insolence of the Romans, likening that king unto some wild beast that was chained, or locked up within some grate, and would fain break loose. If this be so, let us break his chain and pull down the grate, that he may regain his liberty and satisfy his angry stomach upon those that are common enemies to us and him. But if it prove otherwise, and that his fear be greater than his indignation, then shall it behove us to look unto him, that he may not seek to please his good masters the Romans by offending us. Your son Seleucus is now at Lysimachia with part of your army: if Philip will not hearken to your embassy, let Seleucus be in readiness to fall upon Macedon, and find him work to defend his own on the other side, without putting us here to trouble. Thus much concern-

‘ ing Philip and the present war in Greece. But
‘ more generally for the managing of this great en-
‘ terprise, wherein you are now embarked against
‘ the Romans, I told you my opinion at the begin-
‘ ning; whereto had you then given ear, the Romans
‘ by this time should have heard other news than
‘ that Chalcis in Eubœa was become ours. Italy and
‘ Gaul should have been on fire with war; and, little
‘ to their comfort, they should have understood that
‘ Hannibal was again come into Italy. Neither do
‘ I see what should hinder us even now from taking
‘ the same course. Send for all your fleet and army
‘ hither; (but in any case let ships of burden come
‘ along with them, loaded with store of victuals; for,
‘ as the case now stands, we have here too few hands
‘ and too many mouths); whereof let the one half
‘ be employed against Italy, whilst you in person with
‘ the other half, tarrying on this side the Ionian sea,
‘ may both take order for the affairs of Greece, and
‘ therewithal make countenance as if you were even
‘ ready to follow us into Italy; yea, and be ready to
‘ follow us indeed, if it shall be requisite. This is
‘ my advice, who, though perhaps I am not very
‘ skilful in all sorts of war, yet how to war with the
‘ Romans I have been instructed by long experi-
‘ ence, both to their cost and mine own. Of this
‘ counsel which I give, I promise you my faith-
‘ ful and diligent service for the execution; but
‘ what counsel soever you shall please to follow, I
‘ wish it may be prosperous.’ Many were pleased
with the great spirit of the man, and said he had
spoken bravely; but of all this was nothing done,
save only that one was sent into Asia to make all
things ready there. In the meanwhile they went in
hand with Thessaly, about which they had before
disputed. There, when they had won one town by
force, many other places, doubting their own strength,
were glad to make submission. But Larissa, that was
chief of the country, stood out, not regarding any

terrible threats of the king, that lay before the walls with his whole army. This their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune; for M. Boebius, a Roman pro-prætor, did send help thither. Likewise Philip of Macedon professed himself enemy unto Antiochus; whereby the fame of the succour coming to Larissa grew such as wrought more than the succour could have done had it arrived; for Antiochus, perceiving many fires on the mountain tops afar off, thought that a great army of Romans and Macedonians had been coming upon him; therefore excusing himself by the time of the year, he broke up his siege and marched away to Chalcis. At Chalcis he fell in love with a young maiden, daughter unto a citizen of the town; whom, without regard of the much disproportion that was between them, both in years and fortune, he shortly married, and so spent the winter following as delightfully as he could, without thinking upon the war in hand. His great men and captains followed his example, and the soldiers as readily imitated the captains; in such wise that, when he took the field, he might evidently perceive in what loose manner of discipline his army had passed the winter. But M. Acilius Glabrio, the Roman consul, shall meet him very shortly, and help him to reclaim them from this looseness of nuptial revels, by setting them to harder exercise.

M. Acilius was chosen consul with P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. The war against Antiochus fell to him by lot; whereas otherwise he was no way so honourable as Nasica his colleague, unto whom fell a charge of far less credit and importance. Nasica, besides the great nobility of his family, had been long since, in the time of the Punic war, crowned with the title of *The best man in Rome*, when the senate, for very fear and superstition, durst not have so pronounced him had they not so thought him; as being commanded by oracle, That none other man than the very best should entertain an old stone,

which the devil then taught them to call *The mother of the Gods*. But no prerogative of birth, virtue, or good opinion, gave such advantage to the better man as to make choice of his own province, or arrogate more unto himself than his lot should afford him. This impartial distribution of employments helped well to maintain peace and concord. P. Scipio, therefore, was appointed to make war against the Boians, wherein he purchased the honour of a triumph, nothing so glorious as was that of his colleague, though purchased with harder service, —requiring the more ability in matter of war. But M. Acilius went over into Greece, with ten thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen elephants. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, notwithstanding his late alliance with king Antiochus and Philip king of Macedon, had lately sent ambassadors to Rome, making offer to come each of them in person with all his forces into Ætolia, there to assist the consul in this war. Ptolemy sent also gold and siver, toward the defraying of charges, as one that meant none other than good earnest. But he was too young, and dealt too far off; so his money was returned unto him with thanks, and his loving offer as lovingly refused. Unto Philip's ambassadors answer was made, That this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted, and that the senate and people of Rome would think themselves beholden to him for the assistance that he should give to Acilius the consul. Masinissa, likewise, and the Carthaginians, did strive which of them should be most forward in gratifying the Romans; each of them did promise a great quantity of grain, which they would send partly to Rome, partly to the army in Greece. And herein Masinissa far outwent the poor city of Carthage; as also, in that he offered to lend the consul five hundred horse and twenty elephants. On the other side, the Carthaginians undertook to set out a fleet at their own charges, and to bring in, at one payment, all the tri-

bute-money which was behind and ought to be discharged by many yearly pensions. But the Romans did neither think it good to let them arm a fleet, nor would let them redeem themselves out of tribute by paying all at once. As for the corn, it was accepted with condition, that they should be contented to receive the price of it.

The hasty and ridiculous issue of this war, that began with such noise and preparations, were hardly credible, were not the difference exceeding great between the Roman and the Asiatic soldier. Antiochus had gotten this spring a few towns of Acarnania, after the same manner as he had prevailed in other parts of Greece; partly by fair words and treason of the rulers, partly by terror, that was like to prove their excuse when they should again forsake him. But king Philip and Boëbius, having recovered many places, and the Roman consul being arrived, against whom none made resistance, he was glad to withdraw himself. Aminander fled out of his Athamania, which the Macedonian took and enjoyed, as in recompence of his good service to the Romans. Philip, the brother of Aminander's wife, was taken by the consul, made a mocking-stock, and sent away prisoner to Rome. The Thessalians used much more diligence in returning to their old friends than they had done in yielding to the king. All their cities, one after another, gave up themselves; the garrisons of Antiochus, compounding only for their own lives, and departing unarmed; yet so that a thousand of them staid behind, and took pay of the Romans. This did wonderfully perplex Antiochus, who, having withdrawn himself to Chalcis, and hearing how things went, cried out upon his friends, and said that they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deal of toil during one half of a winter, and spent the other half in such nuptials as were little to his honour; after which, in time of need, he found all the promises of the Ætolians merely verbal, and him-

self reduced into terms of great extremity. He therefore admired Hannibal as a wise man, yea, a very great prophet, that had foreseen all this long before. Nevertheless, he sent word to the Ætolians, that they should now make ready all their forces, as considering their own need to be no less than his. But the Ætolians had cause to think that they themselves were shamefully disappointed by Antiochus, who, having promised to do great wonders, was in all this while seconded by no greater numbers out of Asia than so many as would fill up the same ten thousand which he first brought over; yet came there some of them, though fewer than at any time before, which joined with him. Hereat the king was angry, and could get no better satisfaction, than that Thoas and his fellows had done their best, in vain, to have made all the nation take arms. Since, therefore, neither his own men came over to him out of Asia, nor his friends of Greece would appear in this time of danger, he seized upon the straits of Thermopylæ, as meaning to defend them against the Romans until more help should come. Of the straits of Thermopylæ there hath been spoken enough before upon many occasions¹; and then chiefly, when they were defended by Leonidas against the huge army of Xerxes. Wherefore it may easily be conceived how the Romans, that landed about Apollonia, and so came onwards into Thessaly, were unable to pass that ledge of mountains, dividing the one half of Greece, unless they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference between Leonidas and Antiochus; the former of these, with an handful of men, defended this passage two or three days together, against a world of men coming to invade the country; the latter, having taken upon him to do great miracles, and effect what he listed himself in Greece, did commit himself unto the safety of this place,

¹ Lib. III. Chap. vi. Sect. 8.

when he was charged by not many more than he had in his own army. There whilst he lay, he sent earnest messages one after another to the Ætolians, entreating them not to forsake him thus, but at leastwise now to help and keep the tops of the mountains, lest the Romans, finding any by-path, should come down upon him. By this importunity he got of them two thousand, that undertook to make good the few passages by which only, and not without extreme difficulty, it was possible for the enemy to ascend. The Roman consul, in like sort, prepared to force the straits, without staying to expect king Philip, that was hindered by sickness from accompanying him. He had with him M. Porcius Cato, and L. Valerius Flaccus, that had both of them been consuls. These he sent forth by night with two thousand men, to try whether by any means they could get up to the Ætolians. He himself encouraged his army, not only by telling them with what base-conditioned enemies they had to deal, but what rich kingdoms Antiochus held, that should bountifully reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battle. All that night Cato had a sore journey (for what happened unto L. Valerius it is uncertain, save only that he failed in his intent), and so much the worse for that he had no skilful guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tired with climbing up steep rocks and crooked ways, he commanded them to repose themselves, whilst he, being a very able man of body, took in hand the discovery, accompanied with no more than one of like mettle to himself. After a great deal of trouble, he found at length a path, which he took to be, as indeed it was, the best way leading unto the enemies. So thither he brought his men, and held on the same path till towards break of day. It was a place not haunted, because in time of peace there was a fair way through the straits below, that required no such trouble of climbing; neither had this entrance of the Thermopylæ been so often the

seat of war as might cause any travellers to search out the passages of those desolate mountains. Wherefore the way that Cato followed, though it were the best, yet did it lead him to a bog at the end, which would suffer him to pass no further. So he staid there until day-light, by which he discovered both the camp of the Greeks underneath him, and some of the Ætolians very near unto him, that were keeping watch. He therefore sent forth a lusty crew of his men, whom he thought fittest for that service, and willed them by any means to get him some prisoners. This was effected; and he thereby understood that these Ætolians were no more than six hundred; as also that king Antiochus lay beneath in the valley. So he presently set upon the Ætolians, overthrew them, slew a great part of them, and chased the rest, that, by flying to their camp, guided him unto it. The fight was already begun between the armies below; and the Romans, that had easily repelled the king's men, and driven them into their camp, found it in a manner a desperate piece of work to assault the camp itself, which occupied the whole breadth of the straits, was notably fortified, and not only defended by Antiochus's long pikes, which were best at that kind of service, but by archers and slingers that were placed over them on the hill-side, and poured down a shower of weapons upon their heads; but Cato's approach determined the matter. It was thought at first, that the Ætolians had been coming to help the king's men; but when the Roman arms and ensigns were discovered, such was the terror, that none made offer of resistance, but all of them forsook the camp and fled. The slaughter was not great, for that the badness of the way did hinder the Roman army from making pursuit; yet this day's loss drove Antiochus out of Greece, who directly fled to Chalcis, and from thence, with the first opportunity, got him back into Asia.

All the cities that had embraced the friendship of Antiochus, prepared forthwith to entertain the Romans, and intreat for pardon ; setting open their gates, and presenting themselves unto the consuls in manner of suppliants. Briefly, in a few days all was recovered that Antiochus had gained, the *Ætolians* only standing out, because they knew not what else to do. Neither did the consul give them any respite. At his return from Chalcis, he met with king Philip, that, having recovered health, came to join with him against Antiochus ; over whom, since the victory was already gotten, he did gratulate unto the Romans their good success, and offered to take part with them in the *Ætolian* war. So it was agreed that the consul should besiege Heraclea, and Philip Lamia at the same time. Each of them plied his work hard ; especially Philip, who fain would have taken Lamia before the consul should come to help him. But it could not be ; for his Macedonians, that used to work by mine, were over-much hindered by the stony ground. Yet was Lamia even ready to be taken, when the consul, having won Heraclea, came thither, and told Philip, that the spoil of these towns was a reward unto those that had fought at Thermopylæ. Herewith Philip must be contented, and therefore went his way quietly. But Acilius, that could so ill endure to see Philip in likelihood of thriving by the Romans victory, got not Lamia himself until such time as another consul was ready to ease himself of his charge.

The loss of Heraclea did so affright the *Ætolians*, that they thought no way safer than to desire peace ; yet had they sent unto king Antiochus, presently after his flight, intreating him not to forsake them utterly, but either to return with all those forces which he had purposed to bring into Greece ; or, if any thing withheld him from coming in person, at leastwise to help them with money and other aid. They prayed him to consider, that this did not only

concern him in honour, but appertained unto his own safety ; since it would be much to his hurt, if the Ætolians, being wholly subdued, the Romans, without any enemies at their backs, might set upon him in Asia. He considered well of this, and found their words true. Therefore he delivered unto Nicander, one of their ambassadors, a sum of money that might serve to defray the charges of the war ; promising, that ere long he would send them strong aid both by land and sea. Thoas, another of their ambassadors, he retained with him, who willingly staid, that he might urge the king to make his word good. But when Heraclea was taken from them, then did the Ætolians lay aside all hopes of amending their fortune by the help of Antiochus, and made suit unto the consul to obtain peace upon any reasonable condition. The consul would scarce vouchsafe to give them audience ; but said, he had other business in hand ; only he granted them ten days of truce, and sent L. Valerius Flaccus with them to Hypata, willing them to make him acquainted with as much as they would have delivered unto himself. At their coming to Hypata, they began, as men favouring their own cause, to allege how well they had deserved of the Romans. Whereto Flaccus would not hearken. He told them plainly, that the memory of all such good offices past was quite obliterated by the malice which they had shewed of late. Wherefore he willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to do so even betimes, than to stay till they were reduced unto terms of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themselves unto the faith of the Romans, and to that effect sent ambassadors to the consul. This phrase of *committing unto the faith*, signified, in their use of it, little else than the acknowledgment of a fault done, and the craving of pardon. But the Romans used those words in another sense, and counted them all one as *yielding to discretion*¹. Where-

¹ Legat. Excerpt. e Polyb. 13.

fore, when the consul heard them speak in this manner, he asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They answered that it was, and shewed him the decree of their nation lately made to this purpose. Then, said he, I command you first of all, that none of ye presume to go into Asia upon any business, private or public; then, that ye deliver up unto me Dicæarchus the Ætolian, Menestratus the Epirot, Aminander the Athamanian, and such of his countrymen as have followed him in revolting from us. Whilst he was yet speaking, Phameas, the ambassador, interrupted him, and prayed him not to mistake the custom of the Greeks, who yielded themselves *unto his faith, not unto slavery*. 'What,' (said the consul) 'do ye stand to plead custom with me, being now at my discretion?' 'Bring hither a chain.' With that, chains were brought, and an iron collar, by his appointment, fitted unto every one of their necks. This did so affright them, that they stood dumb, and knew not what to say. But Valerius, and some others, intreated the consul not to deal thus hardly with them, since they *came* as ambassadors, though *since* their condition was altered. Phameas also spake for himself, and said, that neither he, nor yet the Apocleti, or ordinary council of the nation, were able to fulfil these injunctions, without approbation of the general assembly. For which cause he intreated yet further ten days respite, and had granted unto him truce for so long.

This surceasance of war, during ten and other ten days together, began presently after the taking of Heraclea, when Philip had been commanded away from Lania, that else he might have won. Now because of the indignity herein offered unto that king, and to the end that he might not return home with his army, like one that could not be trusted in employment, especially the Romans being like hereafter to have farther need of him, in the continuance

of this war, he was desired to set upon the Athamans, and some other petty nations, their borderers, whilst the consul was busy with the Ætolians, taking for his reward all that he could get. And he got in that space all Athamania, Perrhæbia, Aperantia, and Dolopia. For the Ætolians, hearing what had befallen their ambassadors, were so enraged, that although they were very ill provided for war, yet they could not endure to hear more talk of peace. And it happened that Nicander, about the same time, was come back from Antiochus, with money and hopeful promises, the Romans abiding still about Heraclæa, and Philip having lately risen from before Lamia, yet not being far gone thence. His money Nicander conveyed into Lamia, by very unusual dexterity. But he himself being to pass further to the assembly of the Ætolians, there to make report of his embassy, was very much perplexed about this his journey, which lay between the Roman and Macedonian camps. Yet he made the adventure, and keeping as far as he could from the Roman side, fell upon a station of Macedonians, by whom he was taken, and led unto their king. He expected no good, but either to be delivered unto the Romans, or used ill enough by Philip. But it seems that the king had not concocted well the indignity of his being sent away from Lamia. For he commanded his servants to intreat Nicander friendly; and he himself being then at supper, did visit him as soon as he rose up, giving him to understand, that the Ætolians did now reap the fruits of their own madness, forasmuch as they could never hold themselves contented, but would needs be calling strangers into Greece. They had pleased themselves well in their acquaintance, first with the Romans, and then with king Antiochus; but himself, being their neighbour, they could never well endure. It was now, therefore, he said, high time for them to have regard unto his friendship, whereof hitherto they had never

made any trial ; for surely their good affection, one unto the other, would be much more available unto each of them, than their mutual catching of advantages, whereby they had wrought themselves much displeasure. Thus much the king willed Nicander to signify unto his countrymen, and privately to hold in mind the courtesy which he then did him in sending him safe home. So giving him a convoy to guard him to Hypata, he lovingly dismissed him. For this benefit, Nicander was always after dutifully affected to the crown of Macedon ; so as in the war of Perseus he made himself suspected unto the Romans, and therefore was had away to Rome, where he ended his life.

When the consul understood that the Ætolians refused to make their submission, in such wise as he required it, he forthwith meant to prosecute the war against them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head against him at Naupactus ; whither he therefore directly marched, to try what they could or durst. The siege of Naupactus was of greater length than the Romans had preconceived it ; for it was a strong city, and well-manned. But Acilius stood upon point of honour ; wherein he thought that he should have been a loser, by rising from before it without victory. So he staid there well-near all the following time of his consulship, whilst the Macedonian king, and the Achæans, made far better use of the Roman victory. Philip, as is said before, being allowed to take in such places as had revolted unto Antiochus, and were not hitherto reclaimed, won the strong city of Demetrias, and with an hasty course of victory subdued the Athamanians and others. The Achæans called to account the Eleans and Messenians, which had long been addicted to the Ætolian side, and followed it in taking part with Antiochus. The Eleans gave good words, whereby they saved themselves from trouble a while. The Messenians being more stout,

before they were invaded, had none other help, when the Achæan prætor wasted their country, than to offer themselves unto the Romans. Titus was then at Corinth ; to whom they sent word, That at his commandment their gates should be opened ; but that unto the Achæans it was not their meaning to yield. A message from Titus to the Achæan prætor, did suffice to call home the army, and finish the war ; as also the peremptory command of the same Titus caused the Messenians to annex themselves unto the Achæans, and become part of their common-weal. Such was now the majesty of a Roman ambassador. Titus did favour the Achæans ; yet could not like it well, that either they, or any other, should take too much upon them. He thought it enough that they had their liberty, and were strong enough to defend it against any of their neighbours. That they should make themselves great lords, and able to dispute with the Roman upon even terms, it was no part of his desire. They had lately bought the isle of Zacynthus, which had once been Philip's, and was afterwards given by him to Aminander, who sent a governor thither. But when Aminander, in this present war, was driven out of his own kingdom by Philip, then did the governor of Zacynthus offer to sell the island to the Achæans, whom he found ready chapmen. Titus liked not of this ; but plainly told them, That the Romans would be their own carvers, and take what they thought good of the lands belonging to their enemies, as a reward of the victory which they had obtained. It was bootless to dispute. Wherefore the Achæans referred themselves unto his discretion. So he told them, That their commonwealth was like a tortoise, whereof Peloponnesus was the shell ; and that holding themselves within that compass, they were out of danger ; but if they would needs be looking abroad, they should lie open to blows, which might greatly hurt them. Having settled things thus in Peloponnesus, he went

fortune. He understood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the contention, that the Romans were like to have the upper hand. The same did Antiochus now begin to suspect, who had thought himself a while as safe at Ephesus as if he had been in another world ; but was told by Hannibal, That it was not so far out of Greece into Asia, as out of Italy into Greece ; and that there was no doubt but the Romans would soon be there, and make him try the chance of a battle for his kingdom.

SECT. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, having with him Publius, the African, his elder brother, for his lieutenant, is sent into Greece. He grants long truce to the Ætolians, that so he might at leisure pass into Asia. Much troublesome business by sea, and divers fights. An invasion upon Eumenes's kingdom ; with the siege of Pergantus, raised by an handful of the Achæans. L. Scipio, the consul, comes into Asia, where Antiochus most earnestly desireth peace, and is denied it. The battle of Magnesia ; wherein Antiochus being vanquished, yielded to the Roman's good pleasure. The conditions of the peace. In what sort the Romans used their victory. L. Cornelius Scipio, after a most sumptuous triumph over Antiochus, is surnamed The Asiatic, as his brother was stiled The African.

LUCIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO, the brother of P. Scipio, the African, was chosen consul at Rome, with C. Lælius. Lælius was very gracious in the senate ; and therefore being desirous (as generally all consuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to refer to the arbitrement of the senate, if L. Cor-

nelius would be so pleased, the disposition of their provinces, without putting it to the hazard of a lottery. Lucius, having talked with his brother Publius, approved well of the motion. Such a question had not of long time been put unto the fathers; who therefore were the more desirous to make an unblameable decree. But the matter being otherwise somewhat indifferent, P. Scipio, the African, said openly thus much, That if the senate would appoint his brother to the war against Antiochus, he himself would follow his brother in that war as his lieutenant. These words were heard with such approbation, that the controversy was forthwith at an end. For if Antiochus relied upon Hannibal, and should happen to be directed wholly by that great captain, what better man could they oppose than Scipio, that had been victorious against the same great worthy. But indeed a worse man might have served well enough the turn. For Hannibal had no absolute command, nor scarce any trust of great importance, excepting now and then in consultation, where his wisdom was much approved, but his liberty and high spirit as much disliked. It is worthy of remembrance, as a sign of the freedom that he used in his censures, even whilst he lived in such a court. Antiochus mustered his army in presence of this famous captain; thinking, as may seem, to have made him wish that he had been served by such brave men in Italy: for they were gallantly decked, both men, horses, and elephants, with such costly furniture of gold, silver, and purple, as glittered with a terrible bravery on a sun-shine day. Whereupon the king, well-pleasing himself with that goodly spectacle, asked Hannibal what he thought, and whether all this were not enough for the Romans? ‘Enough’ (said Hannibal) ‘were the Romans the most covetous men in all the world;’ meaning, that all this cost upon the backs of cowardly Asiatics was no better than a spoil to animate good soldiers. How little

this answer pleased the king, it is easy to guess. The little use that he made of this Carthaginian testifies that his dislike of the man caused him to lose the use of his service, when he stood in greatest necessity thereof.

The Scipios made all haste away from Rome as soon as they could. They carried with them, besides other soldiers newly pressed to the war, about five thousand volunteers, that had served under P. Africanus. There was also a fleet of thirty quinquereme gallies, and twenty triremes, newly built, appointed unto L. Æmilius Regillus, that was chosen admiral the same year for that voyage. At their coming into Greece, they found the old consul Glabrio besieging Amphissa, a city of the Ætolians. The Ætolians, after that they were denied peace, had expected him once again at Naupactus; wherefore they not only fortified that town, but kept all the passages thereto leading, which heedlessly, as in time of confusion, they had left unguarded the last year. Glabrio knowing this, deceived their expectation, and fell upon Lamia; which being not long since much weakened by Philip, and now by him attempted on the sudden, was carried at the second assault. Thence went he to Amphissa, which he had almost gotten, when L. Scipio, his successor, came with thirteen thousand foot and five hundred horse, and took charge of the army. The town of Amphissa was presently forsaken by the inhabitants; but they had a castle, or higher town, that was impregnable, whereinto they all retired. The Athenian ambassadors had dealt with P. Scipio in behalf of the Ætolians, intreating him to stand their friend, and help them in obtaining some tolerable conditions of peace. He gave them gentle words, and willed them to persuade the Ætolians that they should faithfully and with true meaning desire it. This was gladly taken; but many messages passing to and fro, though Publius continued to put them in good hope,

yet the consul made still the same answer with which they had been chased from Rome. The conclusion was, That they should sue for a longer time of respite from war; whereby at more leisure they might attend some better disposition of the senate, or any helpful commodity which time should afford. So they obtained half a year's leisure of breathing. Hereof were they not more glad than was P. Scipio, who thought all time lost which withheld the war from passing over into Asia.

The business of Ætolia being thus laid aside, and the old consul Glabrio sent home into Italy, the Scipios marched into Thessaly, intending thence to take their way by land, through Macedon and Thrace, unto the Hellespont. Yet they considered, that hereby they must commit themselves unto the loyalty of king Philip, who might either do them some mischief by the way, if he were disposed to watch a notable advantage; or at the least, would he be unfaithful, though he were not so courageous, yet might he take such order with the Thracians that, even for want of victuals, if by no greater inconvenience, they should be disgracefully forced to return. He had promised them the utmost of his furtherance, wherein, whether he meant sincerely, they thought to make some trial, by causing a gentleman to ride post unto him and observe his doings, as he should take him on the sudden. The king was merry at a feast and drinking when the messenger came, whom he lovingly bade welcome, and shewed him the next day, not only what provision of victuals he had made for the army, but how he had made bridges over the rivers, and mended the bad ways by which they were to pass. With these good news Gracchus returned back in haste unto the Scipios, who, entering into Macedon, found all things in readiness that might help to advance their journey. The king entertained them royally, and brought them on their way even to the

Hellespont, where they staid a good while until their navy was in readiness to transport them into Asia.

Much was done at sea in the beginning of this year, though, for the most part, little of importance. Polyxenidas, the admiral of Antiochus, was a banished Rhodian, true to the king, and desirous of revenge upon his countrymen that had expelled him. He, hearing that the Rhodian fleet was at Samos, the Romans and Eumenes having not as yet put to sea, thought to do somewhat upon those that were so early in their diligence, before their fellows should arrive to help them. Yet went he craftily to work; and sent word, as in great secrecy, to the Rhodian admiral, That if the sentence of his banishment might be repealed, he would, in requital thereof, betray all the king's fleet. After many passages to and fro, this was believed; and the Rhodian admiral grew so careless, expecting still when he should receive a watch-word from Polyxenidas, that he himself was taken by Polyxenidas in his own haven. The king's fleet, setting forth from Ephesus by night, and, for fear of being discovered, resting one day in a harbour by the way, came the second night to Samos, where, by morning, it was ready to enter the haven. Pausistratus the Rhodian admiral seeing this, thought it his best way of resistance to bestow his men on the two head-lands or points of the haven, so to guard the mouth of it, for that he saw no likelihood of defending himself by sea. But Polyxenidas had already landed some companies in another part of the island, which, falling upon the back of Pausistratus, compelled him to alter his directions and command his men aboard. This could not be without great confusion, so as the enemies took him out of all order, and sunk or boarded all his navy, five excepted, that by a sudden device made shift to escape. Each of them hung out a burning cresset upon two poles at the beak-head, and then rowed forwards directly upon the enemy, who having not bethought himself

what shift to make against such unexpected danger of firing, was content to give way unto these desperate gallies, for fear lest they should burn, together with themselves, a part of the king's fleet.

Not long after this the Romans had some loss by tempest, whereof Polyxenidas could not take such advantage as he had hoped; because, putting to sea for that purpose, he was driven back again by the like foul weather. But the Rhodians, to shew that they were not discouraged, set forth twenty other gallies; the Romans also, with king Eumenes, repaired their fleet; and all of them together, in great bravery, presented battle to Polyxenidas, before the haven of Ephesus. When he durst not accept it, they went from place to place attempting many things, as either they were entreated by the Rhodians, or persuaded by some appearing hopes of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing; for that one while they were hindered by storms at sea, and another while by strong resistance made against them by land.

Eumenes, with his fleet, was compelled to forsake them, and return home to the defence of his own kingdom; for Antiochus wasted all the grounds about Elæa and Pergamus, and leaving his son Seleucus to besiege the royal city of Pergamus, did, with the rest of his army, spoil the whole country thereabout. Attalus, the brother of king Eumenes, was then in Pergamus, having with him no better men to defend the city than were they that lay against it; wherefore he had reason to stand in fear, being too much inferior in number. There came to his aid a thousand foot and an hundred horse of the Achæans, old soldiers all, and trained up under Philopœmen, whose scholar in the art of war Diophanes their commander was. This Diophanes, beholding from the walls of Pergamus, which was an high town, the demeanour of the enemy, began to disdain that such men as them should hold him besieged; for Se-

leucus's army, which was encamped at the hill-foot, seeing that none durst sally forth upon them, grew so careless, as, otherwise than by spoiling all behind their backs, they seemed to forget that they were in an enemy's country. Diophanes therefore spoke with Attalus, and told him that he would go forth to visit them. Attalus had no liking to this adventure, for he said that the match was nothing equal; but the Achæan would needs have his will, and issuing forth, encamped not far from the enemy. They of Pergamus thought him little better than mad. As for the besiegers, they wondered at first what his meaning was; but when they saw that he held himself quiet, they made a jest of his boldness, and laughed to see with what an handful of men he looked so stoutly. So they returned unto their former negligence and disorders, which Diophanes perceiving, he commanded all his men to follow him, even as fast as they well might; and he himself, with the hundred horse, broke out on the sudden upon the station that was next at hand. Very few of the enemies had their horses ready saddled, but more few or none had the hearts to make resistance; so as he drove them all out of their camp, and chaced them as far as he might safely adventure, with great slaughter of men, and no loss of his own. Hereat all the citizens of Pergamus (who had covered the walls of the town, men and women, to behold this spectacle) were very joyful, and highly magnified the virtue of these Achæans; yet would they not therefore issue forth of their gates to help the Achæans in doing what remained to be done. The next day Seleucus encamped half a mile further from the town than he had done before, and against him went forth Diophanes the second time, who quietly rested a while in his old station. When they had staid many hours looking who should begin, Seleucus, in fair order as he came, withdrew himself towards his lodging that was further off. Diophanes moved not whilst the enemy was in sight, but

as soon as the ground between them hindered the prospect, he followed them in all haste, and soon overtaking them with his horse, charged them in rear, so as he broke them, and with all his forces pursued them at the heels to their very trenches. This boldness of the Achæans, and the baseness of his own men, caused Seleucus to quit the siege little to his honour. Such being the quality of these Asiatics, Philopœmen had cause to tell the Romans that he envied their victory; for when Antiochus lay feasting at Chalcis after his marriage, and his soldiers betook themselves to riot, as it had been in a time of great security, a good man of war might have cut all their throats, even as they were tippling in their victualling-houses; which Philopœmen said that he would have done had he been general of the Achæans, and not, as he then was, a private man.

Antiochus was full of business; and turning his care from one thing to another with a great deal of travel, brought almost nothing to pass. He had been at Pergamus, into which Eumenes, leaving the Romans, did put himself with a few of his horse and light armature. Before Pergamus he left his son, as before hath been shewed, and went to Elæa, whither he heard that Æmilius the Roman admiral was come to bring succour to Eumenes. There he had an overture of peace, about which to consult, Eumenes was sent for by Æmilius, and came from Pergamus. But when it was considered that no conclusion could be made without the consul, this treaty broke off. Then followed the overthrow newly mentioned, which caused Seleucus to give over the siege of Pergamus. Afterwards, four or five towns of scarce any worth or note, were taken by the king; and the Syrian fleet, being of seven and thirty sail, was beaten by the Rhodian, which was of like number. But of this victory the Rhodian had no great cause to rejoice; for that Hannibal the Carthaginian, who, together with Apollonius a courtier of Antiochus, was admiral of the

Syrians, did them in a manner as great hurt as they could do to Apollonius; and having the victory taken out of his hand by Apollonius's flight, yet made such a retreat that the Rhodians durst not far adventure upon him. Now of these actions, which were but as prefaces unto the war, the last and greatest was a victory of the Romans by sea against Polyxenidas the king's admiral. The battle was fought by Myonnesus, a promontory in Asia, where Polyxenidas had with him fourscore and nine gallies, and five of them greater than any of the Romans. This being all the strength which he could make by sea, we may note the vanity of those brags wherewith Antiochus vaunted the last year, that his armada should cover all the shores of Greece. The Romans had eight and fifty gallies, the Rhodians two and twenty; the Roman being the stronger built, and more stoutly manned; the Rhodian more light timbered and thin planked, having all advantage of speed and good seamen. Neither forgot they to help themselves by the same device with which five of their gallies had lately escaped from Samos; for with fire in their prows they ran upon the enemy, who, declining them for fear, laid open his side, and was thereby in greater danger of being stemmed. After no long fight, the king's navy hoisted sail, and having a fair wind, bore away toward Ephesus as fast as they could. Yet forty of their gallies they left behind them, whereof thirteen were taken, all the rest burnt or sunk. The Romans and their fellows lost only two or three ships, but got hereby the absolute mastery of the sea.

The report of this misadventure may seem to have taken from Antiochus all use of reason; for, as if no hope had been remaining to defend those places that he held in Europe, he presently withdrew his garrisons from Lysimachia, which might easily have been kept, even till the end of winter following, and had reduced the besiegers (if the siege had been continued obstinately) to terms of great extremity. He

also gave over the siege of Colophon; and laying aside all thought save only of defence, drew together all his army, and sent for help to his father-in-law king Ariarathes, the Cappadocian.

Thus the Roman consul, without impediment, not only came to the Hellespont, but had yielded unto him all places there belonging to Antiochus on Europe side. The fleet was then also in readiness to transport him over into Asia; where Eumenes had taken such care before, that he landed quietly at his own good ease, even as if the country had been his already. The first news that he heard of his enemy was by an ambassador that came to sue for peace. This ambassador declared in his master's name, that the same things which had hindered him from obtaining peace of the Romans heretofore, did now persuade him that he should easily come to good agreement with them; for in all disputations heretofore, Smyrna, Lampsacus, and Lysimachia, had been the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the king had now already given over Lysimachia, and was further purposed not to strive with the Romans about Lampsacus and Smyrna, what reason was there why they should need to trouble him with war? If it was their desire that any other towns upon the coast of Asia, not mentioned by them in any former treaties, should be also set at liberty or otherwise delivered into their hands, the king would not refuse to gratify them therein. Briefly, let them take some part of Asia, so as the bounds dividing them from the king might not be uncertain, and it should be quietly put into their hands. If all this were not enough, the king would likewise bear half the charges whereat they had been in this war; so praying the Romans to hold themselves content with these good offers, and not to be too insolent upon confidence of their fortune, he expected their answer. These offers, which to the ambassador seemed so great, were judged by the Romans to be very little; for they thought

it reasonable that the king should bear all the charges of the war, since it began through his own fault; and that he should not only depart out of those few towns which he held in *Æolis* and *Ionia*, but quite out of *Asia the Less*, and keep himself on the other side of mount *Taurus*. When the ambassador therefore saw that no better bargain could be made, he dealt with *P. Scipio* in private; and to him he promised a great quantity of gold, together with the free restitution of his son, who (it is uncertain by what mischance) was taken prisoner, and most honourably entertained by the king. *Scipio* would not hearken to the offer of gold, nor otherwise to the restitution of his son, than upon condition that it might be with making such amends for the benefit as became a private man. As for the public business, he only said thus much, —That since *Antiochus* had already forsaken *Lysimachia*, and suffered the war to take hold on his own kingdom, there was now none other way for him than either to fight, or yield to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, said he, tell your king in my name, that I would advise him to refuse no condition whereby he may have peace.

The king was not any whit moved with this advice; for, seeing that the consul demanded of him no less than if he had been already subdued, little reason there was that he should fear to come to battle, wherein he could lose, as he thought, no more than, by seeking to avoid it, he must give away. He had with him threescore and ten thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, besides two and fifty Indian elephants, and many chariots armed with hooks or scythes, according to the manner of the eastern countries. Yet was he nothing pleased to hear that the consul drew near him apace, as one hasting to fight; but howsoever he was affected, he made so little shew of fear, that hearing *P. Scipio* to lie sick at *Elæa*, he sent thither unto him his son without ransom, as one both desirous to comfort this noble war-

rior in his sickness, and withal not desirous to retain the young gentleman for a pledge of his own safety. Thus ought his bounty to be constant ; otherwise it might be suspected that herein he dealt craftily ; for since he could have none other ransom of Scipio than such as an honourable man that had no great store of wealth might pay, better it was to do such a courtesy before the battle as would afterwards have been little worth, than to stay until the Romans, perhaps victorious, should exact it at his hands. P. Scipio was greatly comforted with the recovery of his son, so as the joy thereof was thought to have been much available unto his health. In recompence of the king's humanity, he said only thus much unto those that brought him this acceptable present, ' I am now able to make
' your king none other amends than by advising him
' not to fight until he shall hear that I am in the
' camp.' What he meant by this it is hard to conjecture. Antiochus resolved to follow his counsel, and therefore withdrew himself from about Thyatira, beyond the river of Phrygius or Hyllus, unto Magnesia by Sipylus, where encamping, he fortified himself as strongly as he could. Thither followed him L. Scipio the consul, and sat down within four miles of him. About a thousand of the king's horse, most of them Gallo-Greeks, came to bid the Romans welcome, of whom at first they slew some, and were anon, with some loss, driven back over the river. Two days were quietly spent, whilst neither the king nor the Romans would pass the water. The third day the Romans made the adventure, wherein they found no disturbance, nor were at all opposed, until they came within two miles and an half of Antiochus's camp. There, as they were taking up their lodging, they were charged by three thousand horse and foot, whom the ordinary *corps du guard* repelled. Four days together after this, each of them brought forth their armies, and set them in order before the trenches, without advancing any farther. The fifth

day the Romans came half way forward and presented battle, which the king would not accept.—Thereupon the consul took advice what was to be done; for either they must fight upon whatsoever disadvantage, or else resolve to abide by it all winter, far from any country of their friends, and therefore subject unto many difficulties, unless they would stain their honour by returning far back to winter in a more convenient place, and so defer the war until the next spring. The Roman soldier was thoroughly persuaded of that enemy's base temper; wherefore it was the general cry, that this great army should be assailed, even in the camp where it lay; as if rather there were so many beasts to be slaughtered than men to be fought with. Yet a day or two passed in discovering the fortifications of Antiochus, and the safest way to set upon him. All this while P. Scipio came not; wherefore the king, being very loth to dishearten his men by seeming to stand in fear of his enemy, resolved to put the matter to a trial. So, when the Romans took the field again and ordered their battle, he also did the like, and advanced so far that they might understand his meaning to fight.

The Roman army consisted of four legions, two Roman and two Latin; in each of which were five thousand and four hundred men. The Latins, as usually were in the points; the Romans in the main battle: all of them, in their wonted form, were divided into maniples. The *Hastati* had the leading, after them followed the *Principes* at such distance as usual, and last of all the *Triarii*. Now besides these there were about three thousand auxillaries, partly Achæans, and partly such as belonged to Eumenes, which were placed in an equal front beyond the Latins in the right wing. Utmost of all (save some five hundred Cretans, and of the Trallians) were almost three thousand horse, of which Eumenes had brought thither eight hundred, the rest being Roman. The left wing was fenced by the bank of the river, yet

four troops of horse were placed there, though such help seemed in a manner needless. Two thousand voluntaries, Macedonians and Thracians, were left to guard the camp. The consul had with him sixteen African elephants, which he bestowed in his rear; forasmuch as, had they come to fight with those of Antiochus, they only would have served to discourage his men, as being sure to be beaten; the Indian being far the greater and more courageous beasts, whereof Antiochus had likewise much advantage in number.

The king's army being compounded of many nations, diversly appointed, and not all accustomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the several kinds, in such wise as each might be of most use. The main strength of his foot consisted in sixteen thousand, armed all Macedonian-like, and called *Phalangiers*. These he placed in the midst, and divided into ten battalions, every one having two and thirty in file and fifty in front. Between every battalion were two elephants, goodly beasts, and such as being adorned with frontals, high crests, towers on their backs, and besides him that governed the elephant, four men in every tower, made a gallant and terrible shew. On the right hand of these were fifteen hundred horse of the Gallo-Greeks; then three thousand barbed horse, and a regiment of almost a thousand horse called the *Agema*, that were all Medians, the choice of the country, and accompanied by some others. All which troops of horse divided in their several kinds, do seem to have followed one another in depth rather than to have been stretched out in front. Adjoining to these were sixteen elephants together in one flock. A little further to the right hand was the king's own regiment, called the *Argyraspides* or *Silver-shields*, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like so valiant as those of the same name that had served under great Alexander; then twelve hundred archers on horse.

back, three thousand light-armed foot; two thousand and five hundred archers of Mysia, with four thousand slingers and archers of the Cyrtæans and Elymæans. On the left hand of the Phalangiers were placed the like numbers of Gallo-Greeks and barbed horse; as also two thousand horse that were sent from Ariarathes, with two thousand and seven hundred of divers nations, and a regiment of a thousand horse more lightly armed, that were called the *King's Troop*, being Syrians, Phrygians, and Lydians. In front of all these horse were the chariots armed with hooks or scythes, and the dromedaries, whereon sat Arabians with long rapiers, that would serve to reach from those high camels. Beyond these were, as in the right wing, a rabble of many nations, Carians, Cicilians, Pamphylians, Pisidians, Cyrtæans, Elymæans, and many others, having also with them sixteen elephants. Antiochus himself commanded in the right wing, Seleucus in the left, and three of his principal captains commanded over the Phalangiers.

The first onset was given by the dromedaries and armed chariots; of which the one, being like to terrify the horse, the other to break the squadrons of the foot, Eumenes, with a few light-armed Cretans, archers, darters, and slingers, easily made frustrate the danger threatened by them both; for with shoutings and noises, and some wounds, they were driven out of the field; and running back upon their own men, did the same harm which they had intended to the enemies. Wherefore the Roman horse, following this advantage, charged upon the left wing, where they found no resistance, some being out of order, others being without courage. It is shameful to rehearse, and so strange that it may hardly seem credible, that the Phalangiers, with such variety of auxiliaries, made little or no resistance, but all of them fled in a manner as soon as they were charged. Only the king Antiochus himself, being in the left wing of his own battle, and seeing the Latins that stood op-

posite unto him weakly flanked with horse, gave upon them courageously and forced them to retire. But M. Æmilius, that had the guard of the Roman camp, issued forth with all his power to help his fellows; and, what by persuasion, what by threats, made them renew the fight. Succour also came from the right wing, where the Romans were already victorious; whereof when Antiochus discovered the approach, he not only turned his horse about, but ran away upon the spur, without further tarriance. The camp was defended a little while, and with no great valour, though by a great multitude that were fled into it. Antiochus is said to have lost in this battle fifty thousand foot and four thousand horse, besides those that were taken. Of the Romans there were not slain above three hundred foot and four and twenty horse; of Eumenes's followers five and twenty.

Antiochus fled into Sardes, and from thence to Apamea the same night, hearing that Seleucus was gone thither before. He left the custody of Sardes and the castle there to one whom he thought faithful; but the townsmen and soldiers were so dismayed with the greatness of the overthrow, that one man's faith was worth nothing. All the towns in those parts, without expecting summons, yielded up themselves by ambassadors, whom they sent to the Romans whilst they were on the way. Neither were there many days spent ere Antiochus's ambassador was in the camp, having none other errand than to know what it would please the Romans to impose upon the king his master. P. Scipio was now come to his brother, who obtained leave to make the answer, because it should be gentle. They required no more than they had lately done, which was, that he should quite abandon his dominions on this side of Taurus. For their charges in that war they required fifteen thousand talents; five hundred in hand; two thousand and five hundred when the senate and people of

Rome should have confirmed the peace; and the other twelve thousand in twelve years next ensuing, by even portions. Likewise they demanded four hundred talents for Eumenes, and some store of corn that was due to him upon a reckoning. Now, besides twenty hostages which they required, very earnest they were to have Hannibal the Carthaginian, and Thoas the Ætolian, with some others, who had stirred up the king to this war, delivered into their hands. But any wise man might so easily have perceived that it would be their purpose to make this one of their principal demands, as no great art was needful to beguile their malice. The king's ambassador had full commission to refuse nothing that should be enjoined. Wherefore there was no more to do than to send immediately to Rome for the ratification of the peace.

There were new consuls chosen in the meanwhile at Rome, M. Fulvius and Cn. Manlius Volso. The Ætolians desired peace, but could not obtain it, because they would accept neither of the two conditions before propounded. So it was decreed, that one of the consuls should make war upon the Ætolians, the other upon Antiochus in Asia. Now, though shortly there came news that Antiochus was already vanquished in battle, and had submitted himself unto all that could be required at his hands; yet, since the state of Asia was not like to be so thoroughly settled by one victory, but that many things might fall out worthy of the Romans' care, Cn. Manlius, to whom Asia fell by lot, had not his province changed.

Soon after this came the ambassadors of king Antiochus to Rome, accompanied with Rhodians and some others, yea, by king Eumenes in person, whose presence added a goodly lustre to the business in hand. Concerning the peace to be made with king Antiochus, there was no disputation; it was generally approved. All the trouble was about the distribution of the purchase. King Eumenes reckoned up

his own deserts, and comparing himself with Masinissa, hoped that the Romans would be more bountiful to him than they had been to the Numidian, since they had found him a king indeed, whereas Masinissa was only such in title, and since both he and his father had always been their friends, even in the very worst of the Roman fortune. Yet was there much ado to make him tell what he would have,—he still referring himself to their courtesy, and they desiring him to speak plain. At length he craved that they would bestow upon him as much of the country by them taken from Antiochus as they had no purpose to keep in their own hands; neither thought he it needful that they should trouble themselves with the care of giving liberty to many of the Greck towns that were on Asia side. For since the most of those towns had been partakers with the king in his war, it was no reason that they should be gainers by his overthrow. The Rhodians did not like of this; they desired the senate to be truly patrons of the Grecian liberty, and to call to mind that no small part of Greece itself had been subject unto Philip, and served him in his war, which was not alleged against him as a cause why they should not be made free after that Philip was overcome. But the main point whereon they insisted was this, That the victory of the Romans against king Antiochus was so great, as easily might satisfy the desires of all their friends. The senate was glad to hear of this, and very bountifully gave away so much, that every one had cause to be well pleased.

Such end had the war against king Antiochus; after which, L. Cornelius Scipio, returning home, had granted unto him the honour of a triumph, the pomp whereof exceeded in riches, not only that of Titus Quintius Flaminius, but of any ten that Rome had beheld unto that day. Now, forasmuch as the surname of *The African* had been given unto P. Scipio, it was thought convenient by some to reward L. Sci-

pio with the title of *The Asiatic*, which the fortune of his victory had no less deserved, though the virtue requisite to the purchase thereof was no way correspondent.

SECT. IX.

The Ætolians and the Gallo-Greeks vanquished by the Roman consuls Fulvius and Manlius. Manlius hardly obtains a triumph, being charged (among other objections) with attempting to have passed the bounds appointed as fatal to the Romans by Sibyl. Of Sibyl's prophecies; the books of Hermes, and that inscription, Simoni Deo Sancto. The ingratitude of Rome to the two Scipios. Of the beginning of faction among the Roman nobility.

MARC. FULVIUS and Cn. Manlius had the same charge divided between them which L. Cornelius Scipio, now stiled *Asiaticus*, had lately undergone. It was found more than one man's work to look at once to Greece and Asia; and for this reason was it apparent that L. Scipio had granted so long a truce to the Ætolians. But since, in this long interim of truce, that haughty little nation had not sought to humble itself to the Roman majesty, it was now to be brought unto more lowly terms than any other of the Greeks. The best was, that so great a storm fell not unexpected upon the Ætolians. They had foreseen the danger when their ambassadors were utterly denied peace at Rome, and they had provided the last remedy,—which was, to entreat the Rhodians and Athenians to become intercessors for them. Neither were they so dejected with any terrible apprehensions that they could not well devise upon helping themselves, even by re-purchase of countries lost, where they spied advantage.

Poor king Aminander lived in exile among them, whilst Philip of Macedon kept from him possession of his lands and castles. But the Athamanians (besides that many of them bore a natural affection to their own prince) having been long accustomed to serve a mountain lord, that conversed with them after a homely manner, could not endure the proud and insolent manner of command used by the captains of Philip's garrisons. They sent, therefore, some few of them to their king, and offered their service towards his restitution. At the first there were only four of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fifty, which undertook the work. Yet assurance that all the rest would follow, made Aminander willing to try his fortune. He was at the borders with a thousand Ætolians, upon the day appointed; at which time his two-and fifty adventurers, having divided themselves into four parts, occupied, by the ready assistance of the multitude, four of the chief towns in the country to his use. The fame of this good success at first, with divers letters running from place to place, wherein men were exhorted to do their best in helping forward the action, made the lieutenants of Philip unable to think upon resistance. One of them held the town of Theium a few days, giving thereby some leisure unto his king to provide for the rescue. But when he had done his best, he was forced thence; and could only tell Philip, whom he met on the way, that all was lost. Philip had brought from home six thousand men, of whom, when the greater part could not hold out in such a running march, he left all, save two thousand, behind them, and so came to Athenæum, a little Athamanian castle that still was his, as being on the frontier of Macedon. Thence he sent Zeno, who had kept Theium a while, to take a place lying over Argithea, that was chief of the country. Zeno did as he was appointed; yet neither he nor the king had the boldness to descend upon Argithea,

for that they might perceive the Athamanians, all along the hill-sides, ready to come down upon them, when they should be busy. Wherefore, nothing was thought more honourable than a safe retreat; especially when Aminander came in sight with his thousand Ætolians. The Macedonians were called back from-wards Argithea, and presently withdrawn by their king towards his own borders. But they were not suffered to depart in quiet at their pleasure. The Athamanians and Ætolians way-laid them, and pursued them so closely, that their retreat was in a manner of a plain flight, with great loss of men and arms; few of those escaping that were left behind, as to make a countenance of holding somewhat in the country until Philip's return.

The Ætolians, having found the business of Athamania so easy, made an attempt in their own behalf, upon the Amphilochians and Aperantians. These had belonged unto their nation, and were lately taken by Philip, from whom they diligently revolted, and became Ætolian again. The Dolopians lay next, that had been ever belonging to the Macedonian, and so did still purpose to continue. These took arms at first, but soon laid them away; seeing their neighbours ready to fight with them in the Ætolian quarrel, and seeing their own king so hastily gone, as if he meant not to return.

Of these victories the joy was the less, for that news came of Antiochus's last overthrow, and of M. Fulvius the new consul's hastening with an army into Greece. Aminander sent his excuses to Rome, praying the senate not to take it in despite that he had recovered his own from Philip, with such help as he could get. Neither seems it that the Romans were much offended to hear of Philip's losses; for of this fault they neither were sharp correctors nor earnest reprovers. Fulvius went in hand with the business about which he came, and laid siege to Ambracia, a goodly city, that had been the chief seat of

Pyrrhus's kingdom. With this he began, for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the Ætolians; yet could not by them be relieved, unless they would adventure to fight upon equal ground. To help the Ambracians, it was not in the Ætolians' power; for they were at the same time vexed by the Illyrians at sea, and ready to be driven from their new conquest by Perseus the son of Philip, who invaded the countries of the Amphilochians and Dolopians. They were unable to deal with so many at once; and therefore as earnestly sought peace with the Romans, as they stoutly made head against the rest. In the meanwhile the Athenian and Rhodian ambassadors came, who besought the consul to grant them peace. It helped well that Ambracia made strong resistance, and would not be terrified by any violence of the assailants, or danger that might seem to threaten. The consul had no desire to spend half his time about one city, and so he driven to leave unto his successor the honour of finishing the war. Wherefore he gladly hearkened unto the Ætolians, and bade them seek peace with faithful intent, without thinking it over-dear at a reasonable price, considering with how great a part of his kingdom their friend Antiochus had made the same purchase. He also gave leave to Aminander, offering his service as a mediator, to put himself into Ambracia, and try what good his persuasions might do with the citizens. So, after many demands and excuses, the conclusion was such as was grievous to the weaker, but not unsufferable. The same ambassadors of the Athenians and Rhodians accompanied those of the Ætolians to Rome, for procuring the confirmation of peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needful in this intercession, for that Philip had made very grievous complaint about the loss of those countries which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the senate could not but take notice, though it hindered not the peace which

those good mediators of Rhodes and Athens did earnestly solicit. The Ætolians were bound to uphold the majesty of the people of Rome, and to observe divers articles, which made them less free, and more obnoxious to the Romans, than any people of Greece, they having been the first that called these their masters into the country. The isle of Cephallenia was taken from them by the Romans, who kept it for themselves, (as not long since they had gotten Zacynthus from the Achæans, by stiffly pressing their own right,) so that they might have possession along the coast of Greece, whilst they seemed to forbear the country. But concerning those places whereto Philip, or others, might lay claim, there was set down an order so perplexed as would necessarily require to have the Romans judges of the controversies when they should arise. And hereof good use will be shortly made, when want of employment elsewhere shall cause a more lordly inquisition to be held upon the affairs of Macedon and Greece.

Cn. Manlius, the other consul, had at the same time war in Asia with the Gallo-Greeks and others. His army was the same that had followed L. Scipio, of whose victory his acts were the consummation. He visited those countries on the hither side of Taurus, that had scarce heard of the Romans, to whom they were abandoned by Antiochus. Among these were some petty lords, or tyrants, some free cities, and some that were together at wars, without regard of the great alteration happened in Asia. From every one of these he got somewhat; and by their quarrels found occasion to visit those provinces, into which he should else have wanted an errand. He was even loaden with booty, when, having fetched a compass about Asia, he came at length upon the Gallo-Greeks. These had long domineered over the country, though, of late times, it was rather the fame and terror of their forepassed acts, than any present virtue of theirs, which held them up in reputa-

tion. Of the Romans they had lately such trial, when they served under king Antiochus, as made them to acknowledge themselves far the worse men. Wherefore they thought it no small part of their safety that they dwelt upon the river Halys, in an inland country, where those enemies were not very like to search them out. But when such hopes failed, and when some princes of their own nation, that had been friends of Eumenes, exhorted the rest to yield, then was no counsel thought so good as to forsake their houses and country, and, with all that they could carry or drive, to betake themselves unto the high mountains of Olympus and Margana. These mountains were exceeding hard of ascent; though none should undertake the custody. Being therefore well manned and victualled for a long time, as also the natural strength being helped by such fortification as promised greatest assurance, it was thought that the consul would either forbear the attempt of forcing them, or easily be repelled; and that, finally, when he had stayed there a while, winter, and much want, should force him to dislodge. Yet all this availed not. For whereas the Gallo-Greeks had been careless of furnishing themselves with casting weapons, as if the stones would have served well enough for that purpose, the Romans, who came far otherwise appointed, found greater advantage in the difference of arms, than impediment in disadvantage of ground. Archers and slingers did easily prevail against the casters of stones, especially being such as were these Gallo-Greeks, neither exercised in that manner of fight, nor having prepared their stones before-hand, but catching up what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftener than those of a fit size. Finally, the barbarians, wanting defensive arms, could not hold out against the arrows and weapons of the Roman light armature, but were driven from a piece of ground, which they had undertaken to make good, up into

their camp on the top of the mountain ; and being forced out of their camp, had no other way left, than to cast themselves headlong down the steep rocks. Few of their men escaped alive ; all their wives, children, and goods became a prey unto the Romans. In the very like manner were the rest of that nation overcome soon after, at the other mountain ; only more of them saved themselves by flight, as having fairer way at their backs.

These wars being ended, Fulvius and Manlius were appointed, by the senate, each of them to retain, as proconsul, his province for another year. Fulvius, in his second year, did little or nothing. Manlius gave peace to those whom he had vanquished ; as likewise to Ariarathes the Cappadocian, and some others, not by him vanquished, but submitting themselves for fear of the Roman arms. He drew from them all what profit he could, and laid upon them such conditions as he thought expedient. He also did finish the league of peace with Antiochus, whereto he swore, and received the king's oath by ambassadors, whom he sent for that purpose. Finally, having set in order the matters of Asia, he took his way towards the Hellespont, loaden with spoil, as carrying with him (besides other treasures) all that the Gallo-Greeks had in so many years extorted from the wealthy provinces which lay round about them. Neither did this army of Manlius return home rich in money alone, or cattle, or things of needful use, which the Roman soldiers had been wont to take as the only good purchase, but furnished with sumptuous household stuff, and slaves of price, excellent cooks, and musicians for banquets, and, in a word, with the seeds of that luxury which finally overgrew and choked the Roman virtue.

The country of Thrace lay between Hellespont and the kingdom of Macedon, which way Manlius was to take his journey homeward. L. Scipio had found no impediment among the Thracians, either

for that he passed through them without any such booty as might provoke them¹, or, perhaps, rather because Philip of Macedon had taken order that the barbarians should not stir. But when Manlius came along with an huge train of baggage, the Thracians could not so well contain themselves. Neither was it thought that Philip took it otherwise than very pleasantly to have this Roman army robbed, and well beaten on the way. He had cause to be angry, seeing how little himself was regarded, and what great rewards were given to Eumenes. For he understood, and afterwards gave the Romans to understand, that Eumenes could not have abiden in his own kingdom if the people of Rome had not made war in Asia; whereas, contrariwise, Antiochus had offered unto himself three thousand talents, and fifty ships of war, to take part with him and the Ætolians; promising, moreover, to restore unto him all the Greek cities that had been taken from him by the Romans. Such being the difference between him and Eumenes when the war began, he thought it no even dealing of the Romans, after their victory, to give away not only the half of Asia, but Chersonesus and Lysimachia in Europe, to Eumenes; whereas upon himself they bestowed not any one town. It agreed not, indeed, with his nobility to go to Rome and beg provinces in the senate, as Eumenes and the Rhodians had lately done. He had entertained lovingly the two Scipios, whom he thought the most honourable men in Rome, and was grown into near acquaintance with Publius, holding correspondence with him by letters, whereby he made himself acquainted with the wars in Spain and Africa. This perhaps he deemed sufficient to breed in the Romans a due respect of him. But Eumenes took a surer way. For the Scipios had not the disposing of that which they won from Antiochus; as neither, in-

¹ Liv. l. xxxix.

deed, had Manlius, nor the ten delegates assisting him,—but the senate of Rome, by which these delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceed. When Philip therefore saw these upstart kings of Pergamus, whom he accounted as base companions, advanced so highly, and made greater than himself, yea, himself unregarded, contemned, and exposed to many wrongs; then found he great cause to wish that he had not so hastily declared himself against Antiochus; or rather, that he had joined with Antiochus and the Ætolians, by whom he might have been freed from his insolent masters. But what great argument of such discontentedness the Macedonian had, we shall very shortly be urged to discourse more at large. At the present it was believed, that the Thracians were by him set on to assail the Romans passing through their country. They knew all advantages; and they fell unexpected upon the carriages that were bestowed in the midst of the army, whereof part had already passed a dangerous wood, through which the baggage followed; part was not yet so far advanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leave behind, though both the getting and the saving did cost many lives, as well of the barbarians as of the Romans. They fought until it grew night; and then the Thracians withdrew themselves, not without as much of the booty as was to their full content. And of such trouble there was more, though less dangerous, before the army could get out of Thrace into Macedon. Through the kingdom they had a fair march into Epirus, and so to Apollonia, which was their handle of Greece.

To Manlius and to Fulvius, when each of them returned to the city, was granted the honour of triumph. Yet not without contradiction, especially to Manlius; whom some of the ten delegates appointed to assist him, did very bitterly tax, as an unworthy commander. Touching the rest of their accus-

ation, it sufficeth, that he made good answer, and was approved by the chief of the senate. One clause is worthy of more particular consideration. Reprehending his desire to have hindered the peace with Antiochus, they said, ‘ That with much ado he was kept from leading his army over Taurus; and adventuring upon the calamity threatened by Sibyl’s verses unto those that should pass the fatal bounds.’ What calamity or overthrow this was, wherewith Sibyl’s prophecy threatened the Roman captain or army that should pass over Taurus, I do not conceive. Pompey was the first that marched with an army beyond those limits; though the victories of Lucullus had opened unto him the way, and had beforehand won, in a sort, the countries on the other side of the mount, which Lucullus gave to one of Antiochus’s race, though Pompey occupied them for the Romans. But we find not that either Lucullus or Pompey suffered any loss in presuming to neglect the bounds appointed by Sibyl. Indeed, the accomplishment of this prophecy fell out near about one time with the restitution of Ptolemy king of Egypt, that was forbidden unto the Romans by the same Sibyl. It may therefore seem to have had reference unto the same things that were denounced as like to happen upon the reduction of the Egyptian king.

Whether the oracles of Sibyl had in them any truth, and were not, as Tully noteth, ‘ sowed at random in the large field of time’, there to take root, and get credit by the event, I will not here dispute. But I hold this more probable, than that the restitution of Ptolemy to his kingdom, by Gabinius the Roman, should have any way betokened the coming of our Saviour, as some both ancient and modern Christian writers have been well pleased to interpret Sibyl in that prophecy. Of the Sibylline predictions I have

2 Liv. l. iii.

3 Tull. de Divin. l. ii.

sometimes thought reverently, though not knowing what they were (as I think few men know,) yet following the common belief and good authority. But observation of the shameful idolatry that upon all occasions was advanced in Rome by the books of Sibyl, had well prevailed upon my credulity, and made me suspect,—though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the judgment of Eusebius,—when that learned and excellent work of Master Casaubon ⁴, upon the *Annals* of Cardinal Baronius, did altogether free me from mine error; making it apparent, that not only those prophecies of Sibyl, wherein Christ so plainly was fore-showed, but even the books of Hermes, which have borne such reputation, were no better than counterfeited pieces; and at first entertained (whosoever devised them) by the indiscreet zeal of such as delighted in seeing the Christian religion strengthened with foreign proofs. And in the same rank, I think, we ought to place that notable history reported by Eusebius ⁵, from no mean authors, of the honour which was done to Simon Magus in Rome, namely, of an altar to him erected, with an inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*,—that is, *To Simon the holy God*. For what can be more strange, than that a thing so memorable, and so public, should have been quite omitted by Tacitus, by Suetonius, by Dion, and by all which wrote of those times? Philosophers and poets would not have suffered the matter to escape in silence, had it been true; neither can it be thought that Seneca, who then lived and flourished, would have abstained from speaking any word of an argument so famous. Wherefore I am persuaded, that this inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, was, by some bad criticism, taken amiss in place of *Semoni Sango*; a title four hundred years older than the time of Simon Magus. For the goods of one Vitruvius, a rebel, had many ages before been consecrated—St.

⁴ Isaac. Casaub. Exercitat. i. ad Annal. Bar. n. 10. et 11.

⁵ I useb. Eccl. Hist. L. II. c. xiii.

moni Sango, that is, *To the Spirit or Demigod Sangus*, in whose chapel they were bestowed. So as either by the ill shape of the old Roman letters, or by some spoil that time had wrought upon them, it might easily come to pass, that the words should be misread *Simoni Sancto*; and that some Christian who had heard of Simon Magus, but not of Sangus, thereupon should frame the conjecture, which now passeth for a true history. Such conjectures, being entertained without examination, find credit by tradition; whereby also, many times, their fashion is amended, and made more historical, than was conceived by the author. But it cannot be safe to let our faith (which ought to stand firm upon a sure foundation) lean over-hardly on a well painted, yet rotten post.

Now concerning the triumph of Cn. Manlius, it may be numbered among a few of the richest which ever the city beheld. Out of that which he brought into the treasury, was made the last payment of those monies which the commonwealth had borrowed from private men in the second Punic war. So long was it that Rome had still some feeling of Hannibal; which being past, there was remaining neither care nor memory of any danger. This triumph of Manlius was deferred by him, even so long as he well could; for that he thought it not safe to make his entrance into the city, until the heat of an inquisition, then raging therein, should be allayed. The two Scipios were called, one after another, into judgment, by two tribunes of the people; men only by this accusation known to posterity. P. Scipio, the African, with whom they began, could not endure that such unworthy men should question him of purloining from the common treasury, or of being hired with bribes by Antiochus to make an ill bargain for his country. When therefore his day of answer came, he appeared before the tribunes, not humbly as one accused, but followed by a great

train of his friends and clients, with which he passed through the midst of the assembly, and offered himself to speak. Having audience, he told the people, That upon the same day of the year he had fought a great battle with Hannibal, and finished the Punic war by a signal victory; in memory whereof, he thought it no fit season to brabble at the law; but intended to visit the Capitol, and there give thanks to Jupiter and the rest of the gods, by whose grace, both on that day and at other times, he had well and happily discharged the most weighty business of the commonwealth. And hereto he invited with him all the citizens; requesting them, 'That if ever, since the seventeenth year of his life, until he now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred upon him, had prevented the capacity of his age, and yet his deserts had exceeded the greatness of those honourable places,—then would they pray, that the princes and great ones of their city might still be like to him.' These words were heard with great approbation; so as all the people, even the officers of the court, followed Scipio; leaving the tribunes alone, with none about them, excepting their own slaves and a crier, by whom ridiculously they cited him to judgment, until, for very shame, as not knowing what else to do, they granted him, unrequested, a further day. After this, when the African perceived that the tribunes would not let fall their suit, but enforce him to submit himself to a disgraceful trial, he willingly relinquished the city, and his unthankful Romans, that could suffer him to undergo so much indignity. The rest of his time he spent at Liternum, quietly, with a few of his inward friends, and without any desire of seeing Rome again. How many years he lived, or whether he lived one whole year, in this voluntary banishment, it is uncertain. The report of his dying in the same year with Hannibal and Philopœmen, as also of his private behaviour at Li-

ternum, render it probable, that he outlived the tribuneship of his accusers; who meant to have drawn him back to his answer, if one of their colleagues (as one of them had power to hinder all the rest from proceeding) had not caused them to desist. Howsoever it was, the same tribunes went more sharply to work with L. Scipio the Asiatic. They propounded a decree unto the people, touching money received of Antiochus, and not brought into the common treasury,—that the senate should give charge unto one of the prætors, to inquire, and judicially determine thereof. In favour of this decree an oration was made by Cato, the supposed author of these contentions, and instigator of the tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect virtue; temperate, valiant, and of singular industry; frugal also, both of the public, and of his own; so as in this kind he was even faulty: for though he would not be corrupted with bribes, yet was he unmerciful and unconscionable, in seeking to increase his own wealth, by such means as the law did warrant. Ambition was his vice; which being poisoned with envy, troubled both himself and the whole city whilst he lived. His mean birth caused him to hate the nobility, especially those that were in chief estimation. Neither did he spare to bite at such as were of his own rank, men raised by desert, if their advancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when Glabrio, whose lieutenant he had been at Thermopylæ, was his competitor for the censorship, and likely to carry it, he took an oath against him, which was counted as no better than malicious perjury, That he had not brought into the common treasury some vessels of gold and silver, gotten in the camp of Antiochus. Now the hatred which he bore unto the Scipios grew partly (besides his general spite at the nobility) from his own first rising, wherein he was countenanced by Fabius Maximus, who brooked not the African; partly from some

check that was given unto himself in the African voyage, by P. Scipio, whose treasurer he then was ; for when Cato did utter his dislike of the consul's bad husbandry, (judging magnificence to be no better,) in some peremptory manner, Scipio plainly told him, ' That he had no need of such double diligence in his treasurer.' Wherefore, either not caring what lies he published, or for want of judgment thinking unworthily of the virtue that was far above him, Cato filled Rome with untrue reports against his general, whose noble deeds confuted sufficiently the author of such false tales. And thus began the hatred ; which being not regarded, nor thought upon by the Scipios, whilst it was nourished by their enemy, broke out upon advantage, especially against L. Scipio, his brother being dead, or out of the way. A severe inquiry and judgment being appointed of purpose against Scipio, matters were so carried, that he was soon condemned in a sum of money far exceeding his ability to pay. For non-payment, his body should have been laid up in prison ; but from this rigour of the law he was freed by Tiberius Gracchus, the same tribune who had caused the suit against the African to be let fall. In his estate, which was confiscated to the use of the city, when there neither appeared any sign of his being beholden to Antiochus, nor was found so much as what he had been condemned to pay, then fell his accusers, and all whose hands had been against him, into the indignation of the people. But for this was L. Scipio no whit the better. His kindred, friends, and clients, made such a collection for him, as would have set him in better estate than before, if he had accepted it. He took no more than such of his own goods as were of necessary use, being redeemed for him by his nearest friends.

And thus began the civil war of the tongue, in the Roman pleadings, which had either not been, or not been much regardable, until now, since the

Punic war. Security of danger from abroad, and some want of sufficient employment, were especial helps to the kindling of this fire, which first caught hold upon that great worthy, to whose virtue Rome was indebted for changing into so great security her extreme danger. But these factious contentions did no long while contain themselves within heat of words, and cunning practice; for when the art of leading the multitude, in such quarrelsome business, grew to perfection, they that found themselves over-matched by their adversaries at this kind of weapon, began to make opposition, first with clubs and stones, afterwards with swords; and finally, proceeded from frays and murders in the streets unto battle in the open field. Cornelia, daughter of Scipio the African, a lady of rare virtue, that, in honour of her two sons, was more commonly named *Mother of the Gracchi*, saw those her two sons, whilst they were but young, slaughter'd in Rome, together with some of their friends, by those whom they opposed, and their death not revenged by order of law, but rather approved by the senate. At these times the senators began to take upon them authority more than was to them belonging. They conferred upon the consuls all the whole power of the city, under this form, 'Let the consuls provide, that the commonweal receive no detriment.' By this decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any citizen *enemy to the state*, they thought to have won a great advantage over the multitude. But after the death of C. Gracchus, and of Saturninus, a popular man, whom, by such authority, they did put out of the way, it was not long ere Marius, a famous captain of theirs, was so condemned; who, by force of arms, returned into the city, and murdered all the principal senators; whereupon began the civil wars, which giving unto Sylla, who prevailed therein, means to make himself absolute lord of Rome, taught Cæsar, a man of higher spirit, to affect and obtain the like sovereign power,

when by the like decree of the senate he was provoked. It is true, that never any consul had finally cause to rejoice of his having put in execution such authority to him committed by the senate. But, as the fury of the multitude, in passing their laws, by throwing of stones, and other violence, made the city stand in need of a sovereign lord ; so the vehemency of the senate, in condemning as enemies those that would not submit themselves, when they were overtopped by voices in the house, did compel Cæsar, or give him at least pretence, to right himself by arms ; wherewith prevailing against his adversaries, he took such order, that neither senate nor people should thenceforth be able to do him wrong. So by intestine discord, the Romans consuming all or most of their principal citizens, lost their own freedom, and became subjects unto the arbitrary government of one ; suffering this change in three generations, after this beginning of their insolent rule, wherein they took upon them, as the highest lords on earth, to do even what they listed. Yet had not Rome indeed attained hitherto unto complete greatness, nor believed of herself as if she had, whilst a king sat crowned on the throne of Alexander, continuing and upholding the reputation of a former empire. Wherefore, this consummation of her honour was thought upon betimes. How it was effected, the sequel will discover.

CHAP. VI.

THE SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR.

SECT. I.

The condition wherein those princes and estates remained, which were associates of the Romans, when the war with Antiochus was finished. The Romans quarrel with Philip. They deal insolently with the Achæans. The Macedonian, being unready for war, obtains peace at Rome, by his son Demetrius, of whom, henceforth, he becomes jealous.

AFTER the overthrow of Antiochus, although Philip of Macedon, Eumenes king of Pergamus, the commonweal of the Achæans, and all other the states of Greece, were governed by the same laws and magistrates as they formerly had been, before the arrival of the Romans in those parts; yet in very truth (the public declaration excepted) they were none other than absolute vassals to the people of Rome. For of these five prerogatives belonging to a monarch, or unto sovereign power, in whomsoever it rest, namely, ‘to make laws, to create magistrates, ‘to arbitrate peace and war, to beat money, and to ‘reserve, (as the French call it) *le dernier resort*, or ‘the last appeal,’ the Romans had assumed four;

and the greatest of them so absolutely, that is, *the appeal*, or last resort, as every petty injury offered to each other by the forenamed kings or states, was heard and determined either by the Roman ambassadors or commissioners, in those places whence the complaint came, or otherwise by the senators themselves within Rome ; from whose arbitrement, or direction, if either king or commonweals declined, he or they were beaten, and enforced to obedience, or had their estates and regalities utterly dissolved. Nevertheless it is true, that they had their own laws, and officers of their own ordaining ; yet so as neither their laws were of force when the Romans interposed their will to the contrary, neither was their election of magistrates so free as that they had not especial regard unto the good pleasure of these their masters.

And to such degree of servitude the several estates of Greece did bow very gently ; either as being thankful for their deliverance from a yoke more sensibly grievous, or as being skilful in the art of flattery, and therein taking delight, since therein consisted their chief hope of thriving ; or as being more fearful of displeasing the strongest, than mindful of their own honour. But Eumenes living further off, and being most obsequious unto the Romans, was not of long time questioned about any of his doings ; his conformity unto them in matter of war and peace, together with the diversion of their thoughts another way, giving him leave to use his own even as he listed, until they should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was it a little available to him that his kingdom bordered upon the nations by them not thoroughly subdued. For upon the same reason, (as well as upon his own high deserts,) were they very loving unto Masinissa, and to his house, until Carthage was ruined, and their dominion settled in Africa ; as likewise afterwards to the kings of Mauritania, Cappadocia, and others ; holding people in subjection unto themselves by the mini-

stry of kings, especially of such kings as were useful and obsequious unto them.

Now the Macedonian was of a more noble temper, and shewed himself not forgetful of his own former greatness, the honour of his race, or the high reputation of his kingdom. But such magnanimity was none otherwise construed by the Romans than as want of due reverence to their estate, and a valuation of himself against them, which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not endure. Wherefore, notwithstanding that he had lately given passage to their armies through his country, prepared the ways for them, and furnished them both with victuals and other things needful to transport them over the Hellespont into Asia, against Antiochus; yet upon the complaint of Eumenes, and the states of Thessaly and Thrace, he was commanded to abandon the cities of Ænus and Maronea, with all pieces and places demanded by any of his neighbours; whereof many of them he had lately conquered, by direction, or licence, even from the Romans themselves.

These towns of Ænus and Maronea had been part of Lysimachus's kingdom, who from Thrace northwards, and to the north-west, extended his dominion very far. He is thought to have made himself lord of Transylvania; in which province it is said that innumerable medals of gold have been found in the age of our grandfathers, each of them weighing two or three crowns, and stamped with his image on the one side, on the other side with *victory*¹. Of all these lordships, the possession, or rather the title (for he lived not to settle his estate in Europe) fell to Seleucus Nicator by right of war, wherein he vanquished and slew Lysimachus; as also, by the like right, Ptolemy Ceraunus thought them his own, when he had murdered Seleucus. But the inundation of the Gauls, which the kingdom of Macedon could not

¹ History of Hungary by Mart. Fum. lib. v.

sustain, did shortly and easily wash away from that crown, together with the most part of Thrace, all those heaps of land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by Antigonus the son of Demetrius, and his successors, though not much, for they were otherwise busied. The fury of the Gauls being over-past, those countries which lately had been oppressed by them, recovered their liberty, and not only held it, but learned some of them, especially the Dardanians and wild Thracians, to find their advantages, and make use of them, even upon Macedon. Against the mischiefs commonly done by these, king Philip did provide the most convenient remedies, by shutting up the ways whereby the Dardanians might enter into his kingdom, and by occupying Lysimachia, with some other towns in Thrace, which he fortified, as bulwarks of his own country, against the barbarians. Now, although it behoved him thus to do, for the defence of his own estate; yet forasmuch as these towns were, in a manner, at absolute liberty, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of justice. And in this respect he was formerly accused by the Ætolians of wrongful usurpation and oppression, in his having occupied Lysimachia. Hereto he made a good answer, That his garrison did only save it from the Thracians, who, as soon as he thence withdrew his men, did seize upon the town, and ruin it. The like perhaps he might have said, touching Æmus and Maronea, that they were places unable to defend themselves, and the gates by which the barbarians might have entrance into his kingdom. But this plea had not availed him, in the disputation about Lysimachia; and in the present question, the Romans were not without their own title, since Antiochus had gotten all the country thereabout whilst Philip was busied in his former war, and since they, by their victory, had gotten unto themselves all the title which Antiochus thereto could pretend. Where-

fore he only submitted his right unto the good pleasure of the senate; referring it unto their disposition, whether Ænus and Maronea should be set at liberty, whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed upon Eumenes, who begged them, as an appendix to Lysimachia and Chersonesus, that were already his by their gift. What they would determine he might easily perceive, by the demeanour of their ambassadors towards him, who, sitting as judges between him and all that made complaint upon him, gave sentence against him in every controversy. Nevertheless, he sent ambassadors to Rome, there to maintain his right unto these towns, wherein he thought that equity (if it might prevail) was wholly on his side. For he had holpen their consuls in the war against Antiochus and the Ætolians; wherein whatsoever he had gotten for himself, was now taken from him by their ambassadors; and would they now deprive him of those two towns, lying so fitly for the guard of his kingdom, which he had gotten to himself out of the ruins of Antiochus, like as out of his own ruins Antiochus had gotten in those quarters a good deal more? By such allegations, either he was likely to prevail, or at leastwise to gain time, wherein he might bethink himself what he had to do. It was not long ere he had word from Rome, that the senate were no more equal to him than had been their ambassadors. Wherefore, considering how insolently the Maronites had behaved themselves, in pleading against him for their liberty, he took counsel of his own passions; and (as by nature he was very cruel) gave order to Onomastus, that was warden of the sea-coasts, to handle these Maronites in such sort as they might have little joy of the liberty by them so earnestly desired. Onomastus employed Cassander, one of the king's men, dwelling in Maronea, and willed him to let in the Thracians by night, that they might sack the town, and use all cruelties of war. This was done, but so ill taken by

the Roman ambassadors, who had better notice than could have been feared of these proceedings, that the king was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more strictly than became his majesty to an account. He would have removed the blame from himself, and laid it even upon the Maronites; affirming, that they, in heat of their factions, being some inclinable to him, other some to Eumenes, had fallen into such an outrage that they had cut one another's throats. And hereof he willed the ambassadors to enquire among the Maronites themselves, as well knowing that they who survived were either his own friends, or so terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durst not utter an offensive word. But he found the Romans more severe, and more thoroughly informed in the business, than to rest contented with such an answer. He was plainly told, that if he would discharge himself of the crime objected, he must send Onomastus and Cassander to Rome, there to be examined as the senate should think fit. This did not a little trouble him; yet he collected his spirits, and said, that Cassander should be at their disposition; but concerning Onomastus, who had not been at Maronea, nor near to it, he requested them not to press him, since it stood not with his honour so lightly to give away his friends. As for Cassander, because he should tell no tales, he took order to have him poisoned by the way. By this we see, that the doctrine which Machiavel taught unto Cæsar Borgia, to employ men in mischievous actions, and afterwards to destroy them when they have performed the mischief, was not of his own invention. All ages have given us examples of this goodly policy, the latter having been apt scholars in this lesson to the more ancient; as the reign of Henry the Eighth here in England can bear good witness; and therein especially the lord Cromwell, who perished by the same unjust law

that himself had devised for the taking away of another man's life.

Such actions of Philip made an unpleasant noise at Rome, and were like to have brought upon him the war which he feared before he was ready to entertain it. Wherefore he employed his younger son Demetrius as ambassador unto the senate, giving him instruction how to make answer to all complaints, and withal to deliver his own grievances in such wise, that if ought were amiss, yet might it appear that he had been strongly urged to take such courses. The sum of his embassy was to pacify the Romans, and make all even for the present. Demetrius himself was known to be very acceptable unto the senate, as having been well approved by them when he was hostage in Rome, and therefore seemed the more likely to prevail somewhat, were it only, in that regard would be borne unto his person.

Whilst this business with the Macedonian hung in suspense, and whilst he, by his readiness to make submission, seemed likely to divert from himself some other way the Roman arms, the same ambassadors that had been judges between him and his neighbours made their progress through the rest of Greece, and took notice of the controversies which they found between some estates in the country. The greatest cause that was heard before them was the complaint of the banished Lacedæmonians against the Achæans. It was objected unto the Achæans, that they had committed a grievous slaughter upon many citizens of Lacedæmon; that unto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing down the walls of the city: as also further, in changing the laws and abrogating the famous institutions of Lycurgus. Hereto Lycórtas, then prætor of the Achæans, made answer, that these banished Lacedæmonians who now took upon them to accuse the nation that had once protected them, were notoriously known to be the men who had themselves committed that murder;

whereof shamelessly they laid the blame upon others; the Achæans having only called those unto judgment that were supposed to be chief authors of a rebellion against both them and the Romans, and these plaintiffs having slain them upon private, though just hatred, as they were coming to make answer for themselves. Concerning their throwing down the walls of Lacedæmon, he said it was most agreeable to Lycurgus's ordinance, who, having persuaded his citizens to defend their town and liberty by their proper virtue, did inhibit unto them all kinds of fortifications, as the retreats and nests either of cowards, or (whereof Lacedæmon had woeful experience) of tyrants and usurpers. Further, he shewed how the same tyrants that had built these walls and hemmed in the Spartans, had also quite abolished Lycurgus's ordinances, and governed the city by their own lawless will. As for the Achæans, they communicated their own laws which they held for the best, or else would change them, and take better unto the Lacedæmonians, whom they found without laws or any tolerable form of policy. For conclusion, Lycortas plainly told App. Claudius, the chief of the ambassadors, that he and his countrymen held it strange, being friends and faithful allies of the Romans, to see themselves thus constrained to answer and give account of their actions as vassals and slaves unto the people of Rome. For if they were indeed at liberty, why might not the Achæans as well require to be satisfied about that which the Romans had done at Capua, as the Romans did busy themselves to take account how things went at Lacedæmon? For if the Romans would stand upon their greatness, and intimate, as they began, that the liberty of their friends was nothing worth longer than should please themselves to ratify it, then must the Achæans have recourse unto those agreements that were confirmed by oath, and which, without perjury, could not be violated, as reverencing, and indeed fearing the Ro-

mans, but much more the immortal gods. To this bold answer of Lycortas, Appius found little to reply; yet, taking state upon him, he pronounced more like a master than a judge, that if the Achæans would not be ruled by fair means, and earn thanks whilst they might, they should be compelled with a mischief to do what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This altercation was in the parliament of the Achæans, which groaned to hear the lordly words of Appius; yet fear prevailed above indignation, and it was permitted unto the Romans to do as they listed. Hereupon the ambassadors restored some banished and condemned men; but the Roman senate, very soon after, did make void all judgment of death or banishment that had been laid by the Achæans upon any citizen of Lacedæmon; as likewise they made it a matter of disputation, whether or no the city and territory of Lacedæmon should be suffered to continue a member of the Achæan commonwealth, or taken from them and made, as it had been, an estate by itself. By bringing such a matter into question, the Romans well declared that they held it to depend upon their own will how much or how little any of their confederates should be suffered to enjoy; though by contributing Sparta to the council of Achaia they discovered no less, as to them seemed, the love which they bare unto the Achæans, than the power which they had over them.

Into such slavery had the Greeks and all kings and common-weals whatsoever, bordering upon any part of the Mediterranean seas, reduced themselves, by calling in the Romans to their succour. They wanted not the good counsel and persuasions of many wise and temperate men among them; they had also the examples of the Italians, Spaniards, Gauls, and Africans, all subdued by the Romans, and, by seeking patronage, made mere vassals, to instruct them what, in the like case, they should expect; yet could not the true reasons of estate and policy so prevail

with them, but their private passions and neighbouring hatred, which hath evermore bought revenge at the price of self-ruin, brought them from the honour which they enjoyed, of being free princes and cities, into most base and fearful servility.

All this made well for Philip of Macedon, who, though he saw the Greeks very far from daring to stir against those by whom both he and they were kept in awe, yet was he not without hope that (few of them excepted, whom the Romans, by freeing from his subjection, had made his implacable enemies,) in hearty affection all the country would be his whensoever he should take arms, as shortly he was like to do. Young Demetrius coming home from Rome, brought with him the desired ratification of peace, though qualified with much indignity soon following. He had been lovingly used at Rome, and heard with great favour in the senate. There, being confounded with the multitude of objections where-to his youth, unskilful in the art of wrangling, could not readily make answer, it was permitted unto him to read such brief notes as he had received from his father, and out of those the senate were contented to gather satisfaction, more for Demetrius's own sake, as they then said and wrote into Macedon, than for any goodness in the defence. Such pride of theirs in remitting his faults at the intreaty of his son, together with some insolence of his son, growing (as appeared) from this favour of the Romans, did increase in Philip his hatred unto Rome, and bred in him a jealousy of his too forward son. To set him forward in these passions there came daily new ambassadors from Rome; some bringing one commandment, some another; and some requiring him to fulfil those things which had been imposed upon him by their foregoers. Neither were there wanting that observed his countenance; and when he had fulfilled all that was required at his hands, yet laid it to his charge that he had done things unwillingly, and would be

obedient no longer than he needs must. With these ambassadors young Demetrius was conversant, rather, perhaps, out of simplicity, and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious respect; yet a great deal more than was pleasing to his father. So the rumour grew current through all Macedon, that Perseus, the elder son of the king, should not succeed unto his father, but that the diadem should be conferred upon Demetrius, if not by some other pretence, yet by mere favour of the Roman. This offended not only Perseus, but Philip himself, who suspected his younger son as more Roman than his own, and accordingly misconstrued all his doings. But ere we proceed unto the bitter fruits of this jealousy, it will not be amiss to speak of some memorable accidents that were in the meantime.

SECT. II.

*The death of Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio.—
That the military profession is of all other the most
unhappy, notwithstanding some examples which may
seem to prove the contrary.*

THE Romans, wanting other matter of quarrel in the continent of Greece, had of late been so peremptory with the Achæans, that they seemed not unlikely to take part against them in any controversy that should be moved. Hereupon the Messenians, who, against their will, were annexed unto the Achæan commonwealth, having long been of a contrary faction thereto, grew bold to withdraw themselves from that society, with purpose to set up again an estate of their own, severed from communion with any other. This was the device of some that were powerful in their city, who, finding the multitude only inclinable to their purpose, and not over-strongly af-

fects in the business, were careful to seek occasion of reducing things to such pass, that all their citizens might be entangled in a necessity of standing out, and of not returning to the Achæan league. And hereupon they began to do some acts of hostility, whereby it was probable that blood should be drawn, and either side so far exasperated that little hopes of agreement would be left. Upon the fame of their commotion and proceedings, Philopoemen, then prætor of the Achæans, levied such forces as he could in haste, and went against them. Many principal gentlemen of the Achæans, especially of the Megalopolitans, were soon in readiness to wait upon him. Besides these, which were all or for the most part horse, he had some auxiliaries out of Thrace and Crete, that usually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with Dinocrates, captain of the Messenians, whom he charged and forced to run. But whilst his horsemen were too earnest in following the chace, there arrived by chance a supply of five hundred from Messene, which gave new courage unto those that fled. So the enemies began to make head again, and, with the help of those who very seasonably came to their aid, compelled Philopoemen's horsemen to turn back. Philopoemen himself had long been sick of an ague, and was then very weak; yet the greatness of his courage would not suffer him to be negligent of their safety which had so willingly adventured themselves under his conduct. He took upon him to make the retreat, and, suffering his horsemen to pass along by him in a narrow lane, he often turned about against the Messenians, whom his reputation, and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrify from approaching over near to him. But it fell out unhappily, that, being cast to the ground by a fall of his horse, and being withal in very weak plight of body, he was unable to get up again. So the enemies came upon him and took him, yet scarce believed their fortune to be so good although their

eyes were witnesses. The first messenger that brought this news to Messene was so far from being believed that he was hardly thought to be in his right wits; but when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the city ran forth to meet him and behold the spectacle seeming so incredible. They caused him to be brought into the theatre, that there they might satisfy themselves with beholding him. The greatest part of them had compassion on his misfortune, and, in commemoration both of his virtue and of the singular benefits by him done unto them, especially in delivering them from Nabis the tyrant, began to manifest their good-will for his delivery. Contrariwise, Dinocrates and his faction were desirous hastily to take away his life, because they held him a man implacable, and one that would never leave any disgrace or injury done to him unrevenged. They durst not one trust another with the keeping of him, but committed him into a strong vault under ground, that had been made for the custody of their treasure. So thither they let him down fast bound, and with an engine laid an heavy stone upon the mouth of the vault. There he had not staid long ere his enemies had concluded his present death. The hangman of the city was let down unto him with a cup of poison, which Philopœmen took in his hand, and asking no more than whether the horsemen were escaped, and particularly whether Lycortas was safe? When he heard an answer to his mind, he said it was well; and so, with a cheerful countenance, drank his last draught. He was seventy years old, and weakened with long sickness, whereby the poison wrought the sooner, and easily took away his life. The Achæans, when they missed him in their flight, were marvellously offended with themselves, for that they had been more mindful to preserve their own lives than to look unto the safety of so excellent a commander. Whilst they were devising what to do in such a case, they got advertisement of his being taken. All Achaia was

by this report vehemently afflicted, so as ambassadors were forthwith dispatched unto Messene craving his enlargement, and yet preparation made withal to obtain it by force, in case that fair means would not serve. Lycortas was chosen general of the army against Messene, who, coming thither and laying siege to the town, forced it in a short time to yield. Then Dinocrates, knowing what he was to expect, laid hands upon himself, and made an end of his own life. The rest of those that had been partakers in the murder, were compelled to wait in bonds upon the ashes of Philopœmen, that were carried home in solemn pomp to Megalopolis, where they were all of them slain at his funeral as sacrifices to his ghost whom they had offended. Q. Martius, a Roman ambassador, was then in Greece, whence, upon one occasion or other, the Roman ambassadors were seldom absent. He would have intermeddled in this business of Messene, had not Lycortas made short work, and left him nothing to do.

About the same time was T. Quintius Flaminius sent ambassador to Prusias, king of Bithynia, not so much to withdraw him from prosecuting the war against Eumenes, as to intreat him that he would deliver Hannibal, the most spiteful enemy in all the world unto the senate and people of Rome, into his hands. Prusias (therein unworthy of the crown he wore) did readily condescend; or rather (as Livy thinks) to gratify the Romans, he determined either to kill Hannibal, or to deliver him alive to Flaminius; for upon the first conference between the king and Flaminius, a troop of soldiers were directed to guard and environ the lodging where Hannibal lay. That famous captain having found cause, before this, to suspect the faith of Prusias, had devised some secret sallies under ground, to save himself from any treasonable and sudden assault. But finding now that all parts about him were foreclosed, he had recourse to his last remedy, which he then was constrained to practise, as well to frustrate his enemies of their tri-

triumphing over him, as to save himself from their torture and merciless hands, who, as he well knew, would neither respect his famous enterprises, his honour, nor his age. When, therefore, he saw no way of escape, nor counsel to resort unto, he took the poison into his hand, which he always preserved for a sure antidote against the sharpest diseases of adverse fortune; which being ready to swallow down, he uttered these words: ‘ I will now (said he) deliver the Romans of that fear which hath so many years possessed them; that fear, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This victory of Flaminius over me, which am disarmed, and betrayed into his hands, shall never be numbered among the rest of his heroical deeds: No, it shall make it manifest to all the nations of the world, how far the ancient Roman virtue is degenerate and corrupted. For such was the nobleness of their forefathers, as, when Pyrrhus invaded them in Italy, and was ready to give them battle at their own doors, they gave him knowledge of the treason intended against him by poison; whereas these of a latter race have employed Flaminius, a man who hath heretofore been one of their consuls, to practise with Prusias, contrary to the honour of a king, contrary to his faith given, and contrary to the laws of hospitality, to slaughter, or deliver up his own guest.’ He then, cursing the person of Prusias, and all his, and desiring the immortal gods to revenge his infidelity, drank off the poison, and died.

In this year also, (as good authors have reported,) to accompany Philopœmen and Hannibal, died Scipio the African: these being, all of them, as great captains as ever the world had; but not more famous than unfortunate. Certainly; for Hannibal, whose tragedy we have now finished, had he been prince of the Carthaginians, and one who by his authority might have commanded such supplies as the war

many have acquired the state of princes, kings; and emperors, by their great ability in matter of war. This I confess. Yet must it be had withal in consideration, that these high places have been given or offered unto very few as rewards of their military virtue, though many have usurped them by the help and favour of those armies which they commanded. Neither is it unregardable, that the tyrants which have oppressed the liberty of free cities, and the lieutenants of kings or emperors, which have traitorously cast down their masters, and stepped up into their seats, were not all of them good men of war; but have used the advantage of some commotion; or many of them, by base and cowardly practices, have obtained those dignities which undeservedly were ascribed to their personal worth. So that the number of those that have purchased absolute greatness by the greatness of their warlike virtue, is far more in seeming than in deed. Phocas was a soldier, and by the help of soldiers he got the empire from his lord Mauritius: but he was a coward; and with a barbarous cruelty, seldom found in any other than cowards, he slew first the children of Mauritius, a prince that never had done him wrong, before his face, and after them Mauritius himself. This his bloody aspiring was but as a debt, which was paid unto him again by Heraclius, who took from him the imperial crown, unjustly gotten, and set it on his own head. Leontius laid hold on the emperor Justin, cut off his nose and ears, and sent him into banishment: but God's vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment by the hands of Tiberius, to whose charge he had left his own men of war. Justin, having recovered forces, lighted on Tiberius, and barbed him after the same fashion. Philippicus, commanding the forces of Justin, murdered both the emperor and his son. Anastasius, the vassal of this new tyrant, surprised his master Philippicus, and thrust out both his eyes. But with Ana-

stasius, Theodosius dealt more gently; for having wrested the sceptre out of his hands, he enforced him to become a priest. It were an endless, and a needless work to tell, how Leo rewarded this Theodosius; how many others have been repaid with their own cruelty, by men alike ambitious and cruel; or how many hundreds, or rather thousands, hoping of captains to make themselves kings, have, by God's justice, miserably perished in the attempt. The ordinary, and perhaps the best way of thriving by the practice of arms, is to take what may be gotten by the spoil of enemies, and the liberality of those princes and cities in whose service one hath well-deserved. But scarce one of a thousand have prospered by this course. For that observation made by Solomon, of unthankfulness in this kind, hath been found belonging to all countries and ages: 'A little city, and few men in it, and a great king came against it, and compassed it about, and builded forts against it: and there was found a poor and a wise man therein, and he delivered the city by his wisdom; but none remembered this poor man.' Great monarchs are unwilling to pay great thanks, lest thereby they should acknowledge themselves to have been indebted for great benefits, which the unwiser sort of them think to savour of some impotency in themselves. But in this respect they are oftentimes cozened and abused; which proves that weakness to be in them indeed, whereof they so gladly shun the opinion. Contrariwise, free estates are bountiful in giving thanks; yet so as those thanks are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their captains have made, by enriching themselves with the spoil of the enemy, they are very inquisitive to search into it, and to strip the well-deservers out of their gettings, yea most injuriously to rob them of their own, upon a false supposition, that even they whose hands are most clean from such offences, have purloined somewhat from

the common treasury. Hereof I need not to produce examples, that of the two Scipios being so lately recited.

In my late sovereign's time, although for the wars, which for her own safety she was constrained to undertake, her majesty had no less cause to use the service of martial men, both by sea and land, than any of her predecessors for many years had; yet, according to the destiny of that profession, I do not remember that any of hers, the lord-admiral excepted, her eldest and most prosperous commander, were either enriched, or otherwise honoured, for any service by them performed. And that her majesty had many advised, valiant, and faithful men, the prosperity of her affairs did well witness, who in all her days never received dishonour by the cowardice or infidelity of any commander by herself chosen and employed.

For as all her old captains by land died poor men, as Malbey, Randol, Drewry, Reade, Wilford, Layton, Pellam, Gilbert, Constable, Bouchier, Barkley, Bingham, and others; so those of a later and more dangerous employment, whereof Norris and Vere were the most famous, and who have done as great honour to our nation (for the means they had) as ever any did,—those (I say) with many other brave colonels, have left behind them (besides the reputation which they purchased with many travels and wounds) nor title nor estate to their posterity. As for the L. Thomas Burrough, and Peregrine Berty, L. Willoughby of Eresby, two very worthy and exceeding valiant commanders, they brought with them into the world their titles and estates.

That her majesty, in the advancement of her men of war, did sooner believe other men than herself a disease unto which many wise princes, besides herself, have been subject,—I say, that such a confidence, although it may seem altogether to excuse her noble nature, yet can it not but in some sort ac-

cuse her of weakness. And exceeding strange it were, were not the cause manifest enough, that where the prosperous actions are so exceedingly prized, the actors are so unprosperous, and so generally neglected. The cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same effect at all times, and among all nations, is this, That those which are nearest the persons of princes (which martial men seldom are) can with no good grace commend, or at least magnify a profession far more noble than their own, seeing therein they should only mind their masters of the wrong they did unto others, in giving less honour and reward to men of far greater deserving, and of far greater use, than themselves.

But his majesty hath already paid the greatest part of that debt; for, besides relieving by pensions all the poorer sort, he hath honoured more martial men than all the kings of England have done for this hundred years.

He hath given a coronet to the Lord Thomas Howard, for his chargeable and remarkable service, as well in the year 1588, as at Cadiz, the Islands, and in our own seas; having first commanded as a captain, twice admiral of a squadron, and twice admiral-in-chief. His majesty hath changed the baronies of Montjoy and Burley into earldoms; and created Sydney viscount, Knollys, Russel, Carew, Danvers, Arundel of Warder, Gerald, and Chichester, barons, for their governments and services in the Netherlands, France, Ireland, and elsewhere.

SECT. III.

Philip making provision for war against the Romans, deals hardly with many of his own subjects. His negociations with the Bastarnæ. His cruelty. He suspecteth his son Demetrius. Demetrius accused by his brother Perseus, and shortly after slain by his father's appointment. Philip repenteth him of his son's death, whom he findeth to have been innocent; and intending to revenge it on Perseus, he dieth.

QUINTIUS MARTIUS, the Roman ambassador, who travelled up and down, seeking what work might be found about Greece, had received instructions from the senate, to use the utmost of his diligence in looking into the estate of Macedon. At his return home, that he might not seem to have discovered nothing, he told the fathers that Philip had done whatsoever they enjoined him; yet so as it might appear that such his obedience would last no longer than mere necessity should enforce him thereunto. He added further, that all the sayings and doings of that king did wholly tend unto rebellion, about which he was devising. Now it was so, indeed, that Philip much repented him of his faithful obsequiousness to the Romans, and foresaw their intent, which was, to get his kingdom into their own hands, with safety of their honour, if they could find convenient means, or otherwise (as to him seemed apparent) by what means soever. He was in an ill case, as having been already vanquished by them; having lost exceedingly both in strength and reputation; having subjects that abhorred to hear of war with Rome; and having neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were

thereto urged, would adventure to take his part : yet he provided, as well as he could devise, against the necessity which he daily feared. Such of his own people as dwelt in the maritime towns, and gave him cause to suspect that they would do but bad service against the Romans, he compelled them to forsake their dwellings, and removed them all into E-mathia. The cities and country whence these were transplanted, he filled with a multitude of Thracians, whose faith he thought a great deal more assured against those enemies that were terrible to the Macedonians. Further, he devised upon alluring the Bastarnæ, a strong and hardy nation, that dwelt beyond the river of Danubius, to abandon their seat, and come to him with all their multitude, who, besides other great rewards, would help them to root out the Dardanians, and take possession of their country. These were like to do him notable service against the Romans, being not only stout fighting men, but such as, being planted in those quarters by him, would bear respect unto him alone. The least benefit that could be hoped by their arrival, must be the utter extirpation of the Dardanians, a people always troublesome to the kingdom of Macedon, whensoever they found advantage. Neither was it judged any hard matter to persuade those Bastarnæ, by hope of spoil, and other enticements, unto a more desperate expedition through Illyria, and the countries upon the Adriatic sea, into Italy itself. It was not known who should withstand them upon the way. Rather it was thought that the Scordisci, and peradventure some others, through whose countries they were to pass, would accompany them against the Romans, were it only in hope of spoil. Now to facilitate the remove of these Bastarnæ from their own habitations into the land of the Dardanians, upon the border of Macedon, a long and tedious journey unto them, that carried with them their wives and children, Philip with gifts did purchase

the good-will of some Thràcian princes, lords of the countries through which they were to pass. And thus he sought means to strengthen himself with the help of the wild nations, which neither knew the Romans, nor were known unto them, since he was not like to find assistance from any civil nation about the whole compass of the Mediterranean seas. But these devices were long ere they took effect; so as the Bastarnæ came not before such time as he was dead, his death being the overthrow of that purpose. In the meantime he neglected not the training of his men to war, and the exercise of them in some small expeditions against those wild people that bordered upon him, and stood worst affected toward him.

But these his counsels and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell upon him, both in his kingdom and in his own house. The families and whole townships which he had caused, much against their wills, to forsake their ancient dwellings and betake themselves to such new habitations as he in his discretion thought meet for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at first contained itself within words, he having done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwise than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long lived; which also he did unwillingly, being himself over-ruled by necessity that seemed apparent. This evil, therefore, would soon have been determined, had not his cruel and vindictive nature made it worse. He could not pardon words proceeding from just sorrow, but imputed all to traitorous malice; and accordingly sought revenge where it was needless. In his rage he caused many to die, among whom were some eminent men, and few or none of them deservedly. This increased the hatred of the people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses; which grew the more general when the king, in a most barbarous and base

fury, mistrusting all alike whom he had injured, thought himself unlike to be safe until he should have massacred all the children of those parents whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this unmanly pleasure, some accidents, more tragical than perhaps he could have desired, gave men cause to think (as they could not in reason think otherwise) that, not without vengeance poured on him from heaven, he felt the like misery in his own children. It is hard to say what the Romans intended in the extraordinary favour which they shewed unto Demetrius the king's younger son. It may well be (though it may be also suspected) that they had no purpose to make and nourish dissention between the brethren, but only to cherish the virtue and towardliness of Demetrius, like as we find it in their histories. But their notable favour towards this young prince, and his mutual respect of them, bred extreme jealousy in the father's head. If any custom of the Romans, the manner of their life, the fashion of their apparel, or the unsightly contriving and building (as then it was) of the town of Rome, were jested at in ordinary discourse and table-talk, Demetrius was sure to be presently on fire, defending and praising them even in such points as rather needed excuse. This, and his daily conversation with their ambassadors as often as they came, gave his father cause to think that he was no fit partaker of any counsel held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his devices with his elder son Perseus, who, fearing so much lest his brother should step between him and the succession, converted wholly unto his destruction that grace which he had with his father. Perseus was then thirty years old, of a stirring spirit, though much defective in valour. Demetrius was younger by five years, more open and unwary in his actions, yet thought old and crafty enough to entertain more dangerous practices than his free speeches discovered. The jealous head of

the king having entertained such suspicions that were much increased by the cunning practice of his elder son, a slight occasion made the fire break out that had long lain smothered. A muster and ceremonious lustration of the army was wont to be made at certain times with great solemnity. The manner of it at the present was thus: They cleft in twain a bitch, and threw the head and fore-part with the entrails on the right-hand, and the hinder-part on the left-hand of the way which the army was to pass. This done, the arms of all the kings of Macedon, from the very first original, were borne before the army; then followed the king between his two sons; after him came his own band and they of his guard, whom all the rest of the Macedonians followed. Having performed other ceremonies, the army was divided into two parts, which, under the king's two sons, charged each other in manner of a true fight, using poles and the like instead of their pikes and accustomed weapons. But in this present skirmish there appeared some extraordinary contention for victory, whether happening by chance, or whether the two captains did over-earnestly seek each to get the upper hand, as a betokening of their good success in a greater trial. Some small hurt was there done and wounds given, even with those stakes, until Perseus's side at length recoiled. Perseus himself was sorry for this, as it had been some bad presage; but his friends were glad, and thought that hereof might be made good use. They were of the craftier sort, who, perceiving which way the king's favour bent, and how all the courses of Demetrius led unto his own ruin, addressed their services to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they said that this victory of Demetrius would afford matter of complaint against him, as if the heat of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of that solemn pastime. Each of the brethren was that day to feast his own companions, and each of them had spies in the other's lodging

to observe what was said and done. One of Perseus's intelligencers behaved himself so indiscreetly that he was taken and well beaten by three or four of Demetrius's men, who turned him out of doors. After some store of wine, Demetrius told his companions that he would go visit his brother and see what cheer he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting such of them as had ill-handled his brother's man; yet he would leave none of his train behind, but forced them all to bear him company. They, fearing to be ill-rewarded for their late diligence, armed themselves secretly to prevent all danger; yet was there such good espial kept that this their coming armed was forthwith made known to Perseus, who thereupon tumultuously locked up his doors, as if he stood in fear to be assaulted in his house. Demetrius wondered to see himself excluded; and fared very angrily with his brother. But Perseus, bidding him be gone as an enemy, and one whose murderous purpose was detected, sent him away with entertainment no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the king. The elder brother accused the younger unto the father of them both. Much there was alleged, and in effect the same hath been here recited, save that by misconstruction all was made worse. But the main point of the accusation, and which did aggravate all the rest, was, That Demetrius had undertaken this murder, and would perhaps also dare to undertake a greater, upon confidence of the Romans, by whom he knew that he should be defended and borne out; for Perseus made shew as if the Romans did hate him, because he bore a due respect unto his father, and was sorry to see him spoiled and daily robbed of somewhat by them; and for this cause he said it was that they did animate his brother against him: as also, that they sought how to win unto Demetrius the love of the Macedonians. For proof hereof he cited a letter sent of late from T. Quintius to the

king himself, whereof the contents were, That he had done wisely in sending Demetrius to Rome, and that he should yet further do well to send him thither again, accompanied with a greater and more honourable train of Macedonian lords. Hence he enforced, that this counsel was given by Titus of purpose to shake the allegiance of those that should wait upon his brother to Rome, and make them, forgetting their duties to their old king, become servants to this young traitor Demetrius. Hereto Demetrius made answer by rehearsing all passages of the day and night foregoing, in such manner as he remembered them and had conceived of them, bitterly reprehending Persens, that converted matters of pastime and what was done or spoken in wine, to such an accusation, whereby he sought his innocent brother's death. As for the love which the Romans did bear him, he said that it grew, if not from his own virtue, at leastwise from their opinion thereof; so as by any impious practice he were more like to lose it wholly than to increase it. In this wretched pleading there wanted not such passions as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren, besides those that are common to all plaintiffs and defendants before ordinary judges. The king pronounced like a father, though a jealous father, That he would conclude nothing upon the excess or error, whatsoever it were, of one day and night, nor upon one hour's audience of the matter, but upon better observation of their lives, manners, and whole carriage of themselves both in word and deed. And herein he may seem to have dealt both justly and compassionately. But from this time forward he gave himself over wholly to Persens, using so little conference with his younger son, that when he had matters of weight in hand, such especially as concerned the Romans, he liked neither to have him present nor near unto him. Above all, he had especial care to learn out what had passed between Demetrius and T. Quintius, or any other of

the Roman great ones ; and to this purpose he sent ambassadors to Rome, Philocles and Apelles, men whom he thought no way interested in the quarrels between the brethren, though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they saw the more in grace. These brought home with them a letter said to be written by Titus (whose seal they had counterfeited) unto the king ; the contents whereof were, a deprecation for the young prince, with an intimation as by way of granting it, That his youthful and ambitious desires had caused him to enter into practices unjustifiable against his elder brother, which yet should never take effect, for that Titus himself would not be author or abettor of any impious device. This manner of excuse did forcibly persuade the king to think his son a dangerous traitor. To strengthen him in this opinion, one Didas, to whom he gave Demetrius in custody, made shew as if he had pitied the estate of the unhappy prince, and so wrung out of him his secret intentions, which he shortly discovered unto Philip. It was the purpose of Demetrius to fly secretly to Rome, where he might hope not only to live in safety from his father and brother, but in greater likelihood than he could find at home of bettering such claim as he had in reversion unto the crown of Macedon. Whatsoever his hopes and meanings were, all came to nought through the falsehood of Didas, who, playing on both hands, offered unto the prince his help for making the escape, and in the meanwhile revealed the whole matter to the king. So Philip resolved to put his son to death without further expense of time. It was thought behoveful to make him away privily, for fear lest the Romans should take the matter to heart, and hold it as a proof sufficient at least of the king's despite against them, if not of his meaning to renew the war. Didas therefore was commanded to rid the unhappy prince of his life. This accursed minister of his king's unadvised sentence first gave poison to Deme-

trius, which wrought neither so hastily nor so secretly as was desired. Hereupon he sent a couple of ruffians to finish the tragedy, who villainously accomplished their work by smothering that prince, in whose life consisted the greatest hope of Macedon.

In all the race of Antigonus there had not been found a king that had thus cruelly dealt with any prince of his own blood. The houses of Lysimachus and Cassander fell either with themselves, or even upon their heels, by intestine discord and jealousies, grounded on desire of sovereign rule, or fear of losing it. By the like unnatural hatred had almost been cut off the lines of Ptolemy and Seleucus, which, though narrowly they escaped the danger, yet were their kingdoms thereby grievously distempered. Contrariwise, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that upstart family of the kings of Pergamus had raised itself to marvellous greatness in very short space from the condition of mere slavery; whereof a principal cause was, the brotherly love maintained by them, with singular commendation of their piety. Neither was Philip ignorant of these examples, but is said to have propounded the last of them to his own children as a pattern for them to imitate. Certainly he had reason so to do, not more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage wherewith king Antigonus's tutor had faithfully cherished him in his minority. But he was himself of an unmerciful nature, and therefore unmeet to be a good persuader unto kindly affection. The murders by him done upon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages which, for the satiating of his blood-thirsty appetite, he delightfully had committed upon many innocents, both strangers and subjects of his own, did now procure vengeance down from heaven that rewarded him with a draught of his own poison. After the death of his son, he too late began to examine the crimes that had been objected,

and to weigh them in a more equal balance. Then found he nothing that could give him satisfaction, or by good probability induce him to think, that malice had not been contriver of the whole process. His only remaining son Perseus could so ill disemble the pleasure which he took in being freed from all danger of competition, as there might easily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause than the remove of those dangers which he had lately pretended. The Romans were now no less to be feared than at other times, when he, as having accomplished the most of his desires, left off his usual trouble of mind and carefulness of making provision against them. He was more diligently courted than in former times by those that well understood the difference between a rising and a setting sun. As for old Philip, he was left in a manner desolate, some expecting his death, and some scarce enduring the tediousness of such expectation. This bred in the king a deep melancholy, and filled his head with suspicious imaginations, the like whereof he had never been slow to apprehend. He was much vexed, and so much the more for that he knew neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof, to complain. One honourable man, a cousin of his, named Antigonus, continued so true to Philip, that he grew thereby hateful to Perseus; and thus becoming subject unto the same jealous impressions which troubled the king, became also partaker of his secrets.—This counsellor, when he found that the anger conceived against Perseus would not vent itself and give ease to the king until the truth were known, whether Demetrius were guilty or no of the treason objected, as also that Philocles and Apelles (the ambassadors which had brought from Rome that epistle of Flaminius that served as the greatest evidence against Demetrius) were suspected of forgery in the business, made diligent inquiry after the truth. In thus doing, he found one Xichus, a man most likely to have

understood what false dealing was used by those ambassadors; him he apprehended, brought to court, and presented unto the king, saying, that this fellow knew all, and must therefore be made to utter what he knew. Xichus, for fear of torture, uttered as much as was before suspected; confessing against himself, that he had been employed by the ambassadors in that wicked piece of business. No wonder if the father's passions were extreme when he understood that, by the unnatural practice of one son, he had so wretchedly cast away another far more virtuous and innocent. He raged exceedingly against himself, and withal against the authors of the mischief. Upon the first news of this discovery Apelles fled away and got into Italy. Philocles was taken, and either, forasmuch as he could not deny it when Xichus confronted him, yielded himself guilty, or else was put to torture. Perseus was now grown stronger than that he should need to fly the country, yet not so stout as to adventure himself into his father's presence. He kept on the borders of the kingdom, towards Thrace, whilst his father wintered at Demetrius. Philip, therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his ungracious son, took a resolution to alien the kingdom from him and confer it upon Antigonus. But his weak body, and excessive grief of mind, so disabled him in the travel hereto belonging, that ere he could bring his purpose to effect, he was constrained to yield to nature. He had reigned about two and forty years, always full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexing himself with continual wars; of which that with the Romans was most unhappy, and few or none of the rest found the conclusion, which a wise prince would have desired, of bringing forth together both honour and profit. But for all the evil that befel him he might thank his own perverse condition, since his uncle king Antigonus had left unto him an estate so great and so well settled as made it easy for him to accomplish any

moderate desires, if he had not abhorred all good counsel. Wherefore he was justly punished by feeling the difference between the imaginary happiness of a tyrant, which he affected, and the life of a king, whereof he little cared to perform the duty. His death, even whilst yet it was only drawing near, was fore-signified unto Perseus by Calligenes the physician, who also concealed it a while from those that were about the court. So Perseus came thither on a sudden and took possession of the kingdom, which, in fine, he no less improvidently lost than he had wickedly gotten.

SECT. IV.

How the Bastarnæ fell upon Dardania. The behaviour of Perseus in the beginning of his reign. Some wars of the Romans, and how they suffered Massinissa cruelly to oppress the Carthaginians. They quarrel with Perseus. They allow not their confederates to make war without their leave obtained. The treason of Callicrates, whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to Rome than in former times. Further quarrels to Perseus. He seeks friendship of the Achæans, and is withstood by Callicrates. The Romans discover their intent of warring upon him.

IMMEDIATELY upon the death of Philip came the Bastarnæ into Thrace, where order had been taken long before, both for their free passage and for the indemnity of the country. This compact was friendly observed as long as none other was known than that Philip did live to recompense all that should be done or sustained for his service; but when it was heard that a new king reigned in Macedon, and not heard withal that he took any care what became of the enterprize, then was all dashed and confounded,

The Thracians would no longer afford so good markets unto these strangers as formerly they had done. On the other side, the Bastarnæ would not be contented with reason, but became their own carvers. Thus each part, having lost the rich hopes reposed in Philip, grew careful of thriving in the present, with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while they fell to blows, and the Bastarnæ had the upper hand; so as they chased the Thracians out of the plain countries. But the victors made little use of their good fortune; for, whether by reason of some overthrow received by them in assaulting a place of strength, or whether because of extreme bad weather, which is said to have afflicted them as it were miraculously, all of them returned home save thirty thousand, which pierced on into Dardania. How these thirty thousand sped in their voyage I do not find. It seems that, by the careless using of some victories, they drew loss upon themselves, and, finally, took that occasion to follow their companions back into their own country.

As for Perseus, he thought it not expedient in the novelty of his reign to embroil himself in a war so dangerous as that with the Romans was likely to prove; wherefore he wholly gave his mind to the settling of his estate, which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himself, as the condition of his affairs should require, either for war or peace.—To prevent all danger of rebellion, he quickly took away the life of Antigonus. To win love of his people, he sat personally to hear their causes in judgment, (though herein he was so over-diligent and curious, that one might have perceived this his virtue of justice to be no better than feigned); as also he gratified them with many delightful spectacles magnificently by him set forth. Above all, he had care to avoid all necessity of war with Rome; and therefore made it his first work to send ambassadors thither to renew the league; which he obtained, and

was by the senate saluted king and friend unto the state. Neither was he negligent in seeking to purchase good-will of the Greeks and other his neighbours, but was rather herein so excessively bountiful, that it may seem a wonder how, in few years, to his utter ruin, he became so griping and tenacious. His fear was indeed the mastering passion which overruled him, and changed him into so many shapes as made it hard to discern which of his other qualities were naturally his own. For proof of this, there is requisite no more than the relation of his actions passed and following.

The Romans continued, as they had long, busy in wars against the Spaniards and Ligurians, people often vanquished, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They also conquered Istria, subdued the rebelling Sardinians, and had some quarrels, though to little effect, with the Illyrians and others. Over the Carthaginians they bore (as ever since the victory) a heavy hand, and suffered Masinissa to take from them what he listed. The Carthaginians, like obedient vassals to Rome, were afraid, though in defence of their own, to take arms, from which they were bound by an article of peace, except it were with leave of the Romans. Masinissa, therefore, had great advantage over them, and was not ignorant how to use it. He could get possession by force of whatsoever he desired, ere their complaining ambassadors could be at Rome; and then were the Romans not hardly entreated to leave things as they found them.

So had he once dealt before in taking from them the country of Emporia, and so did he use them again and again, with pretence of title, where he had any, otherwise without it. Gala, the father of Masinissa, had won some land from the Carthaginians, which afterwards Syphax won from Gala, and within a while restored to the right owners, for love of

his wife Sophonisba, and of Asdrubal his father-in-law. This did Masinissa take from them by force; and by the Romans, to whose judgment the case was referred, was permitted quietly to hold it. The Carthaginians had now good experience how beneficial it was for their estate to use all manner of submissive obedience to Rome. They had scarcely digested this injury when Masinissa came upon them again and took from them above seventy towns and castles without any colour of right. Hereof by their ambassadors they made lamentable complaint unto the Roman senate. They shewed how grievously they were oppressed, by reason of two articles in their league, that they should not make war out of their own lands, nor with any confederates of the Romans. Now, although it were so that they might lawfully withstand the violence of Masinissa's invading their country, howsoever he was pleased to call it his; yet since he was confederate with the Romans, they durst not presume to bear defensive arms against him, but suffered themselves to be eaten up for fear of incurring the Romans' indignation. Wherefore they intreated, that either they might have fairer justice, or be suffered to defend their own by strong hand; or at least, if right must wholly give place to favour, that the Romans yet would be pleased to determine how far forth Masinissa should be allowed to proceed in these outrages. If none of these petitions could be obtained, then desired they that the Romans would let them understand wherein they had offended since the time that Scipio gave them peace, and vouchsafe to inflict on them such punishment as they themselves in honour should think meet; for that better and more to their comfort it were to suffer at once what should be appointed by such judges, than continually to live in fear, and none otherwise draw breath than at the mercy of this Numidian hangman. And herewithal the ambassadors threw themselves prostrate

on the ground weeping, in hopes to move compassion.

Here may we behold the fruits of their envy to that valiant house of the Barchines; of their irresolution in prosecuting a war so important as Hannibal made for them in Italy; and of their halfpenny-worthing in matter of expense, when they had adventured their whole estate in the purchase of a great empire. Now are they servants even to the servants of those men whose fathers they had often chased, slain, taken, and sold as bond-slaves in the streets of Carthage, and in all cities of Africa and Greece. Now have they enough of that Roman peace which Hanno so often and so earnestly desired. Only they want peace with Masinissa, once their mercenary and now their master, or rather their tormentor; out of whose cruel hands they beseech their masters to take the office of correcting them. In such case are they, and adore the Romans, whom they see flourishing in such prosperity as might have been their own. But the Romans had far better entreated Varro who lost the battle at Cannæ, than Hannibal that won it was used by the Carthaginians; they had freely bestowed, every man of them, all his private riches upon the commonwealth, and employed their labours for the public, without craving recompence; as also they had not thought it much, though being in extreme want, to set out an army into Spain at what time the enemy lay under their own walls. These were no Carthaginian virtues; and therefore the Carthaginians, having fought against their betters, must patiently endure the miseries belonging to the vanquished. Their pitiful behaviour bred peradventure some commiseration; yet their tears may seem to have been mistrusted, as proceeding no less from envy to the Romans than from any feeling of their own calamity. They thought themselves able to fight with Masinissa; which estimation of their forces was able to make

them, after a little while, enter into comparisons with Rome. Wherefore they obtained no such leave as they sought, of defending their own right by arms; but contrariwise, when without leave obtained they presumed so far, the destruction of Carthage was thought an easy punishment of that offence. At the present they received a gentle answer, though they had otherwise little amends. Gulussa the son of Masinissa was then in Rome, and had not as yet craved audience. He was therefore called before the senate, where he was demanded the reason of his coming, and had related unto him the complaint made by the Carthaginians against his father. He answered, That his father, not being thoroughly aware of any ambassadors thither sent from Carthage, had therefore not given him instructions how to deal in that business; only it was known, that the Carthaginians had held council divers nights in the temple of Æsculapius; whereupon he himself was dispatched away to Rome, there to intreat the senate that these common enemies of the Romans and of his father might not be overmuch trusted, especially against his father, whom they hated most maliciously for his constant faith to the people of Rome. This answer gave little satisfaction. Wherefore the senate replied, that for Masinissa's sake they had done and would do whatsoever was reasonable; but that it stood not with their justice to allow of this his violence in taking from the Carthaginians those lands which, by the covenants of the league, were granted unto them freely to enjoy. With this mild rebuke they dismissed Gulussa, bestowing on him friendly presents (as also they did on the Carthaginians), and willing him to tell his father, that he should do well to send ambassadors more fully instructed in this matter. This happened when the Macedonian war was even ready to begin, at which time the Romans were not willing too much to offend either the Car-

thaginians (for fear of urging them unseasonably to rebellion), or Masinissa, at whose hands they expected no little help. So were they aided both by the Carthaginians and Masinissa; by the Carthaginians, partly for fear, partly for hope of better usage in future; by Masinissa, in way of thankfulness; though if it had happened (which was unlikely) that they should be vanquished, he made none other account than that all Africa round about him and Carthage therewithal should be his own.

In the midst of all these cares the Romans had not been unmindful of Perseus. They visited him daily with ambassadors, that is, with honourable spies to observe his behaviour. These he entertained kindly at first, until (which fell out ere long) he perceived whereto their diligence tended. First they quarrelled with him about the troubles in Dardania; neither would they take any satisfaction until the Bastarnæ were thence gone, though he protested that he had not sent for them. Afterwards they pryed narrowly into his doings, and were no less ill contented with good offices by him done to sundry of his neighbours than with those wrongs which (they said) he did unto other some. Where he did harm to any, they called it making war upon their friends; where he did good, they called such his bounty seeking friends to take his part against them. The Dolopians his subjects (upon what occasion it is uncertain), rebelled, and with exquisite torments slew Euphranor whom he had appointed their governor. It seems that Euphranor had played the tyrant among them; for they were a people without strength to resist the Macedonian, and therefore unlikely to have presumed so far, unless either they had been extremely provoked, or else were secretly animated by the Romans. — Whatsoever it was that bred this courage in them, Perseus did soon allay it, and reclaim them by strong hand. But the Romans took very angrily this pre-

sumption of the king, even as if he had invaded some country of their Italian confederates and not corrected his own rebels at home. Fain they would have had him to draw in the same yoke with the Carthaginians, whereto had he humbled once his neck, they could themselves have done the part of Masinissa, though Eumenes, or some other fit for that purpose, had been wanting; and to this effect they told him, that the conditions of the league between them were such as made it unlawful, both to his father heretofore, and now to him, to take arms without their licence first obtained.

To the same pass they would also fain have reduced the Greeks, and generally all their adherents, even such as had entered into league with them upon equal terms, whom usually they rewarded with a frown, whensoever they presumed to right themselves by force of arms, without seeking first the oracle at Rome. Hereof the Achæans had good experience, whose confidence in their proper strength made them otherwhiles bold to be their own carvers, and whose hope of extraordinary favour at Rome caused them the more willingly to refer their causes to arbitrement. For when they went about to have chastised the Messenians by war, T. Quintius rebuked them, as too arrogant in taking such a work in hand, without his authority; yet by his authority he ended the matter, wholly to their good-liking. Probably at other times were they reprehended, even with lordly threats, when they took upon them to carry any business of importance by their own power, without standing unto the good grace of the Romans; who nevertheless, upon submission, were apt enough to do them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their absolute liberty, as by which they were not like to thrive, especially in usurping the practice of arms, which belonged only to the imperial city. In learning this hard lesson, they

were such untoward scholars, that they needed, and not very long after felt, very sharp correction'. Yet was there no small part of blame to be imputed unto their masters. For the Roman senate, being desirous to humble the Achæans, refused not only to give them such aid as they requested, and as they challenged by the tenor of the league between them, but further, with a careless insolency, rejected this honest and reasonable petition, that the enemy might not be supplied from Italy with victuals or arms. Herewith not content, the fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affairs of Greece, pronounced openly, that if the Argives, Lacedæmonians, or Corinthians, would revolt from the Achæans, they themselves would think it a business no way concerning them. This was presently after the death of Philopœmen, at what time it was believed that the commonwealth of Achaia was like to fall into much distress, were it not upheld by countenance of the Romans. All this notwithstanding, when Lycortas, prætor of the Achæans, had utterly subdued the Messenians far sooner than was expected, and when as not only no town rebelled from the Achæans, but many entered into their corporation, then did the Romans, with an ill-favoured grace, tell the same ambassadors, to whose petition they had made such bad answer, (and who as yet were not gone out of the city,) that they had straitly forbidden all manner of succour to be carried to Messene. Thus thinking, by a feigned gravity, to have served their own turns, they manifested their conditions both to set on the weaker against the stronger and more suspected, and also to assume unto themselves a sovereign power in directing all matters of war, which dissemblingly they would have seemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their confederates; not permitting any of

1 Polyb. legat. 51 and 53.

them to make war, whether offensive or defensive, though it were against mere strangers, without interposing the authority of the senate and people of Rome; unless, peradventure, sometimes they winked at such violence as did help towards the accomplishment of their own secret malice. Now these Roman arts, howsoever many (for gainful or timorous respects) would seem to understand them, yet were generally displeasing unto all men endued with free spirits. Only the Athenians, once the most turbulent city in Greece, having neither subjects of their own that might rebel, nor power wherewith to bring any into subjection, for want of more noble argument wherein to practise their eloquence, that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the most mighty. So they kept themselves in grace with the Romans, remaining free from all trouble, until the war of Mithridates; being men unfit for action, and thereby innocent, yet bearing a part in many great actions, as gratulators of the Roman victories, and pardon-cravers for the vanquished. Such were the Athenians become. As for those other common-weals and kingdoms, that with over-nice diligence strove to preserve their liberties and lands from consuming by piece-meal, they were to be devoured whole, and swallowed up at once; especially the Macedonian, as the most unpliant, and wherein many of the Greeks began to have affiance, was necessarily to be made an example how much better it were to bow than to break.

Neither Perseus nor the Romans were ignorant how the Greeks at this time stood affected. Perseus, by reason of his near neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce between him and his subjects, could not want good information of all that might concern him in their affairs. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which Philopœmen

had long since foretold, of the miserable subjection whereinto Greece was likely to be reduced by the Roman patronage. Indeed they not only perceived the approaching danger, but, as being tenderly sensible of their liberty, felt themselves grieved with the present subjection, whereto already they were become obnoxious; wherefore, though none of them had the courage, in matters of the public, to fall out with the Romans, yet all of them had the care to choose among themselves none other magistrates than such as affected the good of their country, and would for no ambition, or other servile respect, be flatterers of the greatness which kept all in fear. Thus it seemed likely, that all domestical conspiracies would soon be at an end, when honesty, and love of the commonweal, became the fairest way to preferment. Of this careful provision for the safety of Greece, the Romans were not thoroughly advertised, either because things were diligently concealed from their ambassadors, whom all men knew to be little better than spies, or because little account was made of that intelligence which was brought in by such traitors (of whom every city in Greece had too many) as were men unregarded among their own people, and therefore more like to speak maliciously than truly; or perhaps because the ambassadors themselves, being all senators, and capable of the greatest office or charge, had no will to find out other matter of trouble than was fitting to their own desires of employment. But it is hard to conceal that which many know, from those that are feared and flattered by many. The Achæans being to send ambassadors to Rome, that should both excuse them, as touching some point wherein they refused to obey the senate, and inform the senate better in the same business, chose one Callicrates, among others, to go in that embassy. By their making choice of such a man, one may perceive the

advantage which mischievous wretches, who commonly are forward in pursuing their vile desires, have against the plain sort of honest men, that least earnestly thrust themselves into the troublesome business of the weal-public. For this Callicrates was in such wise transported with ambition, that he chose much rather to betray his country, than to let any other be of more authority than himself therein. Wherefore, instead of well discharging his credence, and alleging what was meetest in justification of his people, he uttered a quite contrary tale, and strongly encouraged the Romans to oppress both the Achæans, and all the rest of Greece, with a far more heavy hand. He told the senate, that it was high time for them to look unto the settling of their authority among his froward countrymen, if they meant not wholly to forego it. For now there was taken up a custom to stand upon points of confederacy and laws, as if these were principally to be had in regard, any injunction from Rome notwithstanding. Hence grew it, that the Achæans, both now, and at other times, did what best pleased themselves, and answered the Romans with excuses; as if it were enough to say, that by some condition of league, or by force of some law, they were discharged, or hindered, from obeying the decrees of the senate. This would not be so, if he, and some other of his opinion, might have their wills, who ceased not to affirm, that no columns or monuments erected, nor no solemn oath of the whole nation, to ratify the observance of confederacy or statute, ought to be of force when the Romans willed the contrary. But it was even the fault of the Romans themselves, that the multitude refused to give ear unto such persuasions. For howsoever, in popular estates, the sound of liberty used to be more plausible than any discourse tending against it; yet if they which undertook the maintenance of an argument, seeming never so bad,

were sure, by their so doing, to procure their own good, the number of them would increase apace, and they become the prevalent faction. It was therefore strange, how the fathers could so neglect the advancement of those that sought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the Roman majesty. More wisely, though with seditious and rebellious purpose, did the Greeks, who, many times, yea, and ordinarily, conferred great honours upon men otherwise of little account and desert, only for having uttered some brave words against the Romans. The fathers, hearing these and the like reasons, wherewith he exhorted them to handle roughly those that were obstinate, and, by cherishing their friends, to make their party strong, resolved to follow this good counsel in every point; yea, to depress all those that held with the right, and to set up their own followers, were it by right or wrong. And to this end, they not only dealt thenceforth more peremptorily with the Achæans than had been their manner in former times, but wrote at the present unto all cities of Greece, requiring them to see that their mandate (which was concerning those that were banished out of Lacedæmon) should be fulfilled². Particularly, in behalf of Callicrates, they advised all men to be such, and so affected as he was in their common-weals. With this dispatch Callicrates returned home a joyful man, having brought his country into the way of ruin, but himself into the way of preferment. Nevertheless, he forbore to vaunt himself of his eloquence in the senate. Only he so reported his embassy, that all men became fearful of the danger wherewith he threatened those that should presume to oppose the Romans. By such arts he obtained to be made prætor of the Achæans; in which magistracy, as in all his courses following, he omitted nothing that might serve to manifest his ready obse-

² Polyb. legat. 78.

quiousness unto those whom he had made his patrons.

Now as the Romans, by threatening terms, won many flatterers, and lost many true friends ; so Perseus, on the other side, thinking by liberal gifts, and hopeful promises, to assure unto himself those that ill could brook his enemies, got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honester than his enemies had. Thus were all the cities of Greece distracted with factions ; some holding with the Romans, some with the Macedonian ; and some few respecting only the good of the estates wherein they lived. Hereat the lords of the senate were highly offended, and thought it an indignity not sufferable, that a king, no better than their vassal, should dare to become head of a faction against them. This, therefore, must be reckoned in the number of his trespasses ; whereof, if not any one alone, yet all of them together, shall afford them just occasion to make war upon him. Perseus having finished his business among the Dolopians, made a journey to Apollo's temple at Delphi. He took his army along with him ; yet went, and returned, in such peaceable and friendly wise, that no place was the worse for his journey, but the good affection towards him generally increased thereby. With those that were in his way, he dealt himself ; to such as lay further off, he sent ambassadors, or letters, praying them, That the memory of all wrongs whatsoever done by his father might be buried with his father, since his own meaning was to hold friendship sincerely with all his neighbours. The Romans perhaps could have been pleased better, if he had behaved himself after a contrary fashion, and done some acts of hostility in his passage. Yet, as if he ought not to have taken such a journey without their licence, this also was made a valuable matter, and cast into the heap of his faults. He laboured greatly to recover the love of the Achæans,

which his father had so lost, that, by a solemn decree, they forbid any Macedonian to enter their territories. It was jealousy, perhaps, no less than hatred, which caused them, at the first, to make such a decree. For howsoever Philip had, by many vile acts, especially by the death of the two Arrati, given them cause to abhor him, yet in the public administration of their estate, he had, for the more part, been to them so beneficial, that not without much ado, and at length, without any general consent, they resolved to forsake him. Wherefore it was needful, even for preservation of concord among them, to use all circumspection, that he might not, by his agents, negotiate and hold intelligence with any in a country towards him so doubtfully affected; especially when, by hearkening to his messages, they might make themselves suspected by their new friends. But the continuance of this decree beyond the time of war, and when all danger of innovation was past, was uncivil, if not inhumane, as nourishing deadly hatred, without leaving means of reconciliation. And hereof the Achæans reaped no good fruit. For although they were not in like sort forbidden the kingdom of Macedon, yet understanding what would be due to them, if they should adventure thither, none of them durst set foot therein. Hence it came to pass, that their bondmen, knowing a safe harbour, out of which their masters could not fetch them, ran daily away in great numbers, exceedingly to the loss of such as made of their slaves very profitable use. But Perseus took hold upon this occasion, as fitly serving to pacify those whose enmity fain he would have changed into love. He therefore apprehended all these fugitives to send them home again, and wrote unto the Achæans, That as, for good-will unto them, he had taken pains to restore back their servants; so should they do very well to take order for keeping them, that here-

after they might not run away again. His meaning was readily understood, and his letters kindly accepted by the greater part, being openly rehearsed by the prætor before the council. But Callicrates took the matter very angrily, and bade them be advised what they did, for that this was none other than a plain device to make them depart from the friendship of the Romans. Herewithal he took upon him, somewhat liberally, to make the Achæans beforehand acquainted with the war that was coming upon Perseus from Rome. He told them how Philip had made preparations for the same war; how Demetrius had been made away, because of his good affection to the Romans; and how Perseus had, since his being king, done many things tending to the breach of peace. Briefly, he rehearsed all those matters which were afterwards alleged by the Romans; the invasion of the Bastarnæ upon the Dardanians; the king's journey against the Dolopians; his voyage to Delphi; and, finally, his peaceable behaviour, which was (he said) a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherefore he advised them to expect the event of things, and not over-hastily to enter into any degree of friendship with the Macedonians. Hereto good answer was made by the prætor's brother: That Callistrates was too earnest in so light a matter; and that, being neither of the king's cabinet, nor of the Roman senate, he made himself too well acquainted with all that had passed, or was like to follow. For it is well known, that Perseus had renewed his league with the Romans,—that he was by them saluted king, and friend to the estate,—and that he had lovingly entertained their ambassadors. This being so, why might not the Achæans, as well as the Ætolians, Thessalians, Epirots, and all the Greeks, hold with him such correspondence as common humanity required? Nevertheless Callicrates was grown a man so terrible by his Roman acquaintance, that they

durst not over-stiffly gainsay him. Therefore the matter was referred unto further deliberation, and answer made the whilst, That since the king had sent only a letter without an ambassador, they knew not how to resolve. Better it was to say thus, than that they were afraid to do as they thought most reasonable and convenient. But when Perseus, herewith not contented, would needs urge them further, and send ambassadors, then were they fain, without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, and deny to give audience, which was proof sufficient (to one that could understand) of the condition wherein they lived. For hearkening to this advice of Callicrates, they were soon after highly commended by the Roman ambassador; whereby it became apparent, that the Romans intended war upon the Macedonian, though hitherto no cause of war was given ³.

SECT. V.

How Eumenes, king of Pergamus, was busied with Pharnaces, the Rhodians, and others. His hatred to the Macedonian, whom he accuseth to the Roman senate. The senate honours him greatly, and contemns his enemies, the Rhodians; with the causes thereof. The unusual stoutness of the Macedonian ambassadors. Perseus's attempt upon Eumenes. The brotherly love between Eumenes and Attalus. Perseus's device to poison some of the Roman senators; whereupon they decree war against him, and send him defiance. Other things concerning the justice of this war.

EUMENES, king of Pergamus, had been troubled about these times by the kings Pharnaces and Mi-

thrirates, his neighbours. He had taken the right course in making first his complaint to the Romans, by whom he was animated with comfortable words and promises, that they, by their authority, would end the business to his content ¹. But, in conclusion, by the help of the kings Prusias and Ariarathes, he ended the war himself, and brought his enemies to seek and accept peace, on such conditions as pleased him to give them. After this, being at good leisure, he began to consider how the affairs of Macedon stood under Perseus. His hatred to Perseus was very great; and therefore he was glad to understand, that the hatred of the Romans to the same his enemy, was as great, and withal notorious. Now, besides his ancient and hereditary quarrel with the Macedonian, it vexed him exceedingly that his own honours (whereof the Greeks, prodigal in that kind, had heaped immoderate store on his father and him) began to wax everywhere stale; whilst Perseus, either by his currying favour, or by the envy borne to the Romans, had gotten their best liking and wishes. For despight of this indignity, he stirred up the Lycians against the Rhodians, his old friends; and in helping these rebels was so violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, to open war. But small pleasure found he in these poor and indirect courses of revenge. The Lycians could not be saved, by his patronage, from severe and cruel chastisement, given to them by the Rhodians. This rendered him contemptible; as likewise his acts of hostility, little different from robberies, made him hateful to those which loved him before. As for his honours in the cities of Greece, they not only continued falling into neglect, but were abrogated by a decree of the Achæans, as too unmeasured, mis-beseeming them to give, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deservings ². All this (which he needed to have.

¹ Polyb. legat. 56 and 59.

² Polyb. legat. 74.

regarded; had he not been too vainly ambitious,) be-
fel him, especially for his being over-serviceable to
the Romans, and for his malice to that noble king-
dom, which, if it fell, the liberty of Greece was not
like to stand ³. Now for the redress hereof, he
thought it in vain to strive any longer with bounty
against such an adversary as, by hopeful promises a-
lone, without any great performance, had over-top-
ped him in the general favour. And therefore he
resolved to overturn the foundations of this popula-
rity, by inducing the Romans utterly to take away
from the eyes of men this idol, the Macedonian
kingdom, which all so vainly worshipped. Neither
would it prove a difficult matter to persuade those
that were already desirous,—rather he was like to be
highly thanked for setting forward their wishes, and
perhaps to be recompensed with some piece of the
kingdom, as he had been rewarded for the like ser-
vice when Antiochus was vanquished.

To this end he made a second voyage to Rome;
where, though he had little to say which they knew
not before, yet his words were heard with such at-
tention as if they had contained some strange no-
velty, and so pondered by the fathers, as if the
weight of them were to turn the balance that before
was equal. The death of Demetrius; the expedi-
tion of the Bastarnæ into Dardania; that of Perseus
himself against the Dolopians, and to Delphi; the
great estimation of the Macedonian in Greece; his
intermeddling in business of his neighbours; his
riches, and his great provisions,—were all the mate-
rial points of Eumenes's discourse. Only he de-
scended unto particulars, having searched into all (as
he professed) like unto a spy. He said, that Perseus
had thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse of
his own; money in readiness to entertain ten thou-

³ Liv. lib. 42.

and left for dead. They might have finished their work, such was the opportunity of the place which they had chosen; but fear of being apprehended, made them, without staying to see all sure, flee in such haste; that they killed their own companion, who could not hold pace with them, because he should not discover them. Eumenes was conveyed away to the little isle of Ægina, where he was cured, being all the while kept so secretly, that the fame of his death was current in Asia. Hence it came that his brother Attalus took upon him as king, and either took, or would have taken to wife, (supposing it belike a matter of state,) Stratonica, the daughter of Ariarathes, whom he then thought the widow of Eumenes. It may well be numbered among the rare examples of brotherly love, that when the king returned alive home, Attalus, going forth to meet him, and do his duty, as in former times, received none other check, than ‘That he should forbear to marry ‘with the queen, until he were well assured of the ‘king’s death.’ More than this, Eumenes never spake of these matters, but bequeathed, at his death, unto the same brother, both his wife and his kingdom. As likewise Attalus forbore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the king his brother, though the Romans (with whom he continued and grew in especial favour when Eumenes fell into their hatred) were in good readiness to have transferred the kingdom from his brother to him. By such concord of brethren was the kingdom of Pergamus raised and upheld; as might also that of Macedon have been, if Demetrius had lived and employed his grace with the Romans to the benefit of Perseus.

It is likely that Perseus was very glad, when he understood that his ministers had both accomplished his will, and had saved all from discovery. But, as he was deceived in the main point, and heard shortly

after that Eumenes lived ; so was he beguiled in that other hope of the concealment, which he vainly esteemed the less material. For he had written to one Praxo, a gentlewoman of Delphi, to entertain the men whom he sent about this business ; and she being apprehended by C. Valerius, a Roman ambassador then attending upon the matters of Greece, was carried to Rome. Thus all came to light. Valerius also brought with him to Rome, out of Greece, one Rammius, a citizen of Brundusium ; who, coming newly from the court of Macedon, loaden with a dangerous secret, had presently sought out the ambassador, and thereof discharged himself. Brundisium was the ordinary port for ships passing between Italy and Greece. There had Rammius a fair house, wherein he gave entertainment, being a wealthy man, to ambassadors, and other honourable personages, both Romans and Macedonians, journeying to and fro. By occasion of such his hospitality he was commended to Perseus, and invited into Macedon with friendly letters, as one whose many courtesies to his ambassadors the king was studious to requite. At his coming, he was much made of, and shortly, with more familiarity than he expected or desired, made partaker of the king's secrets. The sum of all was, that he must needs do a turn, in giving, to such of the Romans as the king should hereafter name, a poison of rare quality, sure in operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterwards. He durst not refuse to accept this employment, for fear lest the virtue of this medicine should be tried upon himself. But, being once at liberty, he discovered all. Rammius was but one man, and one whom the king had never seen before, nor was like to see again ; and therefore, besides that the king's denial ought to be as good as such a fellow's affirmation, the accusation was improbable. Thus did Perseus, in time shortly following, answer for him-

Rhodes, ambassadors came from Rome with strange news, which gave new life to the rebellion ⁴. For the senate pronounced, that it stood not with the manner of the Romans to alien quite from their own protection any people or nation by them vanquished; and that the Lycians were by them assigned unto those of Rhodes, not as mere vassals, but as dependants and associates ⁵. For proof hereof, they referred themselves unto the commentaries of the ten ambassadors, whom they had sent to dispose of things in Asia, after the victory against king Antiochus. Hereat Eumenes, Masinissa, the Ætolians, and all other kings or states that were beholden to Rome for increasing the number of their subjects, had cause to find themselves aggrieved, if they well considered the matter; since, by force of this, or the like decree, those their subjects might easily be made their fellows, whensoever it should please the senate; though it were so, that all men knew the present meaning of the senate, which was only to plague the Rhodians for their good-will to Perseus, by setting them and the Lycians together by the ears. The fathers could therefore see no reason to dislike Eumenes upon this complaint made by the Rhodian ambassadors, which indeed more nearly touched themselves. Rather, they honoured the king so much the more, for that others (as they would needs take it) conspired against him, because of his love to Rome.

But the Macedonian embassy they heard not so carelessly as angrily; though, peradventure, it well contented them to find cause of anger. For whereas, at other times, all care had been taken to pacify them with gentle words and excuses; now heard they plainer language, and were told, that king Perseus desired much to give them satisfaction concerning any word or deed of his that might savour of hos-

⁴ Polyb. Legat. 60 and 61.

⁵ Liv. lib. 41.

tility ; but that if his travel in this kind proved vain, then would he be ready to defend himself by arms, and stand to the chance of war, which often falls out contrary to expectation. These big words may seem to have proceeded from the vehemency of Harpalus, that was chief of the ambassadors, rather than from instruction given by the king, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reason why Perseus himself might, at this time, think to speed better by a shew of daring, than he was like to do by any submission. For the eyes of all Greece being now cast upon him, as on the greatest hope of deliverance from the Roman servitude, it was not expedient that he should lessen, or perhaps utterly cut off, the general expectation, and the good affection borne to him, which thereon depended, by discovering his too much weakness of spirit, unanswerable to a work of such importance. Wherefore he, or his ambassador for him, was bold to set a good countenance on a game not very bad, but subject (in appearance) to fortune ; which might have been his, had he known how to use it.

Now that this bravery (as better it may be termed than courage) proceeded from the king's own heat, it appears by his daring to adventure soon after on a practice that more justly might anger the Romans, and give them fairer shew of reason to make war upon him. It was known that Eumenes, in returning home, would take Delphi in his way, and there do sacrifice to Apollo. Perseus deadly hating him, and thirsting after his blood, resolved to way-lay him, and by making there of him a sacrifice, to rid his own hands of a most mischievous enemy. So there were appointed three or four stout ruffians to do the murder ; who, placing themselves behind a broken mud-wall, on the side of a very narrow path leading up from the sea to the temple, did thence assault the king, whom they sorely bruised with great stones,

sand mercenaries for ten years ; arms to furnish a number thrice as great ; the Thracians his friends at hand, ready at a call, to bring him soldiers as many as he should require ; and that he prepared victuals for ten years, because he would not be driven either to live upon spoil, or to take from his own subjects. Herewithal he prayed them to consider, that king Seleucus, the son and successor of Antiochus the great, had given his daughter Laodice in marriage to Perseus,—Perseus not wooing, but Seleucus offering the match ; that king Prusias of Bythynia, by earnest suit, had gotten to wife the sister of Perseus ; and that these marriages were solemnized with great concourse of embassages from all quarters. Neither spared he to tell them, (though seeming loth to utter it plainly,) that even the envy to their estate was the cause why many that could not endure to hear of amity with Philip, were now grown marvellously well affected to his son. All this, and some facts of Perseus, which might either be denied or justified, (as that he had procured the death of some which were friends to the Romans, and that he had expelled Abrypolis the Illyrian, who invaded Macedon, out of his kingdom or lordship,) Eumenes failed not to amplify unto the most ; saying, that he thought it his duty to forwarn them, since it would be to himself a great shame if Perseus got the start of him, and were in Italy making war upon the Romans, ere Eumenes could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great folly to believe that the Romans stood in fear of Perseus, lest he should set upon them in Italy. Nevertheless, forasmuch as they loved not to make war without fair pretence, not only of wrong done to them or their associates, but of further hurt intended, great thanks were given to Eumenes, who had every way furnished them with such goodly colour to beautify their intendment. Now, though it

were so, that he told them little else than what they knew before, yet his person, and the manner of his coming, made all seem greater. For if, upon any relation made by their own ambassadors, or upon tales devised by their flatterers and spies, they had warred against Perseus, ere he had committed any open act of hostility against them, their injustice and oppression would have been most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done were so notorious, and the danger threatening them so terrible, that such a prince as Eumenes came out of his own kingdom, as far as from Asia, to bid them look to themselves, who could blame them if they took the speediest order to obtain their own right and security? Toward this justification of the war, and magnifying the necessity that enforced them thereto, their more than usual curiosity in concealing what Eumenes had uttered in the senate, when they could not but understand that his errand was well known, helped not a little. The Macedonian and Rhodian ambassadors were at Rome, provided of answers to the words which they knew before-hand that he would speak, and with matter of recrimination. The vanity either of him, or of some about him, seems to have disclosed all, when the wariness of the fathers, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable shew of some fearful apprehension, against which it behoved their wisdom to neglect no possible remedy. Wherefore, careless audience was given to the Rhodian ambassadors, who accused Eumenes, as one more troublesome to Asia than Antiochus had ever been, and a provoker of the Lycians to rebellion. The Rhodians had, with great pomp, conveyed by sea unto Perseus his bride Laodice; which friendly office as the Macedonian bountifully requited, so the Romans despitefully accepted. Hence it grew, that when the Lycians, as already vanquished, were setting themselves in obedience to the people of

self; and in like sort concerning the attempt upon Eumenes, denying to have had any hand either in the one or the other; yet withal professing, that such objections were not to be made unto a king, to prove the righteousness of making war upon him, but rather unto a subject pleading for his life in judgment. But howsoever the Romans neglected the getting of stronger proof (which might have been easy) than any that we find by them produced, yet the base and cowardly temper of Perseus was very suitable to these practices. Neither did the senate greatly stand to dispute the matter with him, these his treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his royal estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for such private offences, it gave him no privilege, they judging him to have offended in the nature of a king. Herein surely they wanted not good reason. For, if he might not lawfully make war upon Eumenes, their confederate,—that is, if he might not send men to waste the kingdom of Pergamus, or to besiege the towns, might he send ruffians to murder the king? If it were no less breach of the league to destroy the senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the sword, was it lawful for him to do it by poison? Wherefore they presently decreed war against him, and sent ambassadors to denounce it unto him, unless he would yield to make such amends as they should require. He seems, at this time, to have been so confident in the general favour of Greece, and other comfortable appearances, that if he desired not war, yet he did not fear it; or at least he thought, by shew of courage, to make his enemies the more calm. He caused the ambassadors to dance attendance, till, being weary, they departed without audience. Then called he them back, and bade them do their errand. They made a tedious rehearsal of all matters, which they had long been collect-

ing against him, and wherewith Eumenes had charged him; adding thereto, that he had entertained long and secret conference in the isle of Samothrace, with ambassadors sent to him out of Asia, about some ill purpose. In regard of all which, they peremptorily required satisfaction, as was their manner when they intended to give defiance. Better might they have stood upon the evidence brought against him by Rammius and Praxo. For if those accusations could be verified, then wanted they not ground whereon to build, of which otherwise they were destitute; it being no fault in a king to be strong, well-beloved, and well-befriended. Perseus answered, for the present, in a rage; calling the Romans greedy, proud, insolent, and underminers of him by their daily ambassadors, that were no better than mere spies. Finally, he promised to give them in writing their full answer, which was to this effect: That he would no longer stand to the league made between them and his father, and renewed by himself indeed only for fear; but wished them to descend to more equal conditions, whereupon he, for his part, would advise, as they might also do for theirs.

In the form of the league between Philip and the Romans, as it is set down by Polybius, we find no condition binding the Macedonian to any inconvenience in the future, excepting those which he immediately performed⁶. But Livy inserts a clause, whereby he was expressly forbidden to make any war abroad, without leave of the Romans⁷. It is most likely that all the Roman confederates were included in this peace, whereby every one of the neighbours round about Macedon, entering shortly into league with Rome, did so bind the king's hands, that he could no more make war abroad than if he had been restrained by plain covenant. And thus might that seem an article of the peace, which never

⁶ Polyb. *legat.* ix.

⁷ Liv. *lib.* xxxiii.

with those crimes that are before mentioned. Where-
to though Perseus made none other answer than the
same which they could have made for him, yet the
embassadors, and especially Martius, took it in good
part as therewith satisfied, and advised him to give
the like satisfaction to the senate. That this might
conveniently be done, a truce was agreed upon.
Thus had Martius his desire, which was to make the
king lose time; for Perseus had all things then in
readiness, and might have done much ere the Roman
army could have been in Greece. But by the inter-
position of this truce he no way increased his forces;
he suffered a most convenient season of winning
upon the enemy to slip away, and obtained in re-
compence nothing else than leisure and vain hope.
Yet was he pleased herewith, as it had been with
some victory, publishing a copy of the disputation
between him and the Romans, whereby he gave men
to understand how much he had the better, and what
hope there was of peace. He sent ambassadors also
to the Rhodians, of whose good-will to him he was
best persuaded, not only to let them know how much
he was superior in cause, but to intreat them that
they would take upon them, as moderators, to com-
pound the differences between him and the Romans;
if perhaps, notwithstanding the goodness of his cause,
he should be denied peace. These were poor helps;
for hereby it appeared, that his late standing upon
point of honour was no better than mere vanity, his
own safety being the utmost of his ambition. This
his fearfulness might seem excusable, and the blame
thereof to appertain unto the Greeks, who deceived
his expectation by being wanting to him in a time of
necessity that was partly their own, had it not been
his office who took upon him as their champion to
give such a manly beginning to the war as might en-
courage all others to follow him. But his timorous
quality being found, men grew daily more and more

averse from him, and grew careful not to put their shoulders to a falling wall. The Rhodians, among whom he had many stout partizans, desired him not to crave any thing at their hands in which they might seem to do against the good liking of the Romans. The Boeotians also, who had entered of late into a strict society with the Macedonian, renounced it now, and made the like with the Romans, to whom further, in a sort, they yielded themselves as vassals. Neither was Martius contented to accept their submission under a general form, but caused their several towns to make covenant apart each for itself, to the end that, being thus distracted into many little commonweals, they might not (were they never so desirous to rebel) have such force to do hurt as when they agreed and were incorporated in one under the city of Thebes. This work of separating the Boeotians from Thebes their head, was more than Agesilaus could effect, or Epaminondas would suffer then when all Greece followed the Lacedæmonians. So far more available to Thebes, being destitute of help from abroad, was the virtue of Epaminondas and a few brave citizens, than was the society with king Perseus against a number not so great as followed the Lacedæmonians.

Martius brought this to effect whilst the king sat still, as being bound by the truce ; and having done this, he returned to the city, where, vaunting what he had wrought by his craft, he was commended and (though some reproved it as dishonest) employed again by the senate, with commission to deal as he should think expedient. Touching the ambassadors which Perseus had sent, audience was given to them, for that they should not plainly see how their master was deluded ; but neither excuse nor intreaty would serve their turn, the senate being resolved beforehand what to do. It was enough that they were admitted into the city, and had thirty days

casion of beginning, and referred other cases to the diligence of time. Neither was this their unreadiness a small help towards examining the disposition of the Greeks and others, who must afterwards dearly pay for any backwardness found in their good-will. There was not indeed any cause to fear that all of the Greeks, or other eastern people, should conspire together and take part with the Macedonian; such was the dissension between their several estates, howsoever the generality of them were inclined the same way. Nevertheless, ambassadors were sent to deal with them all, and to crave their help against Perseus, or rather to demand it, in no less ample manner than heretofore they had yielded it against Philip and Antiochus, in wars pretending the liberty of Greece. The ambassadors used as gentle words, for fashion's sake, as if they had stood in doubt that their request might happen to be denied. But the Greeks were now grown well acquainted with such Roman courtesy, and understood that not only such as made refusal, but even they who might seem to have granted half unwillingly, were like to hear other manner of words when once this business was ended. Wherefore none of them were scrupulous in promising the best of their help to the Romans; the Achæans and Rhodians, which were chief among them, being rather doubtful¹, even when they had done their best, lest it should be ill taken, as if they had halted in some part of their duty. It is strange that men could be so earnest to set up the side whereof they gladly would have seen the ruin. The vulgar sort was every where addicted to Perseus; of the nobles and rulers, if some were vehemently Roman, they wanted not opposers that were wholly Macedonian; yea, the wisest and most honest, who regarded only the benefit of their country, wished better to Perseus than to the Romans. And of this

¹ Polyb. Legat. lxxiii. lxxviii. and lxxx.

number Polybins, the chief of historians, was one; who, though he judged the victory of Perseus like to prove hurtful to Greece², yet wished he the Romans ill to thrive, that so the Greeks might recover perfect liberty; for his endeavours in which course he was at length tyrannically handled, as shall be shewed hereafter. This considered, it appears, that an extraordinary fear, and not only reverence of the imperial city, made the Achæans and other estates of Greece thus conformable to the Romans. The occasion of this their fear may be justly imputed unto the timorous demeanor of Perseus himself. He had undertaken a war whereof the benefit should redound not only to his own kingdom, but unto all that were oppressed by the Romans. Yet no sooner were some few companies brought over-sea to make a countenance of meaning somewhat against him, than he began to speak the enemy fair, and sue for peace at Rome. Since, therefore, it was known that every small thing would serve to terrify him, and, consequently, that it should at all times be in the Romans power, by giving him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take revenge at leisure upon those which had assisted him, little occasion was there why any should adventure to partake with him. He made indeed a great noise, leading about his army, taking by force or composition some few towns, and soliciting all to join with him; but wise men could not be so beguiled; for at the same time he sought all means of pacification, and to that end made humble suit unto the Roman ambassadors. Q. Martius, the chief of those ambassadors, and a man of more fineness in cunning than was usual among the Romans, made shew of inclination to the king's desire, and gave out such comfortable words, that the king intreated and obtained a meeting at the river Peneus. There did Martius very gently rebuke the king, and charge him

² Polyb. Legat. lib. lxxvii.

was agreed upon, but only was inferred by consequence. Now, if the Romans would urge this point further, and say, that the Macedonion might not bear defensive arms without their permission,—then had Perseus very just reason to find himself aggrieved. For since they had allowed his father, without controul, to make war in Thrace (whilst they themselves were unacquainted with the Thracians) and elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence, why should they now interpret the bargain after another fashion? Was it now become unlawful for him to chastise his own rebels, or to repay an Illyrian that invaded Macedon? By such allegations he maintained the right of his cause in very mild sort, when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the league as unjust, he ministered occasion unto the ambassadors to give him defiance. Having heard the worst of their message, he commanded them to be gone out of the kingdom in three days. But either he should have been less vehement, or more constant in his resolution. For if his heart could serve him to undertake the war, he should courageously have managed it, and have fallen to work immediately, whilst the enemy was unprepared, not have lost opportunity, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worse peace than the former.

SECT. VI.

The Romans solicit the Greeks to join with them in the war against Perseus. How the Greeks stood affected in that war. The timorousness of Perseus. Marius, a Roman ambassador, deludes him with hopes of peace. His forces. He takes the field, and wins part of Thessaly. The forces of Licinius the Roman consul, and what assistance the Romans had in this war. Of Tempe in Thessaly, and what advantages the Macedonian had, or might have had, but lost by his fear. Perseus braves the Romans, fights with them, knows not how to use his victory, sues for peace, and is denied it by the vanquished. Perseus, having the worse in a skirmish, forsakes all the country lying without Tempe. The Bæotians rebel against the Romans, and are rigorously punished. The Roman commanders unfortunate in the war against Perseus. They vex the Greeks, their friends, for whose ease the Senate makes provision, having heard their complaints. The flattering Alabanders.

So long had the Romans been seeking occasion to take in hand this Macedonian war, that well might they have been ready for it when it came, and not (as they were) behind-hand in provisions. But it was on a sudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the war, whereof if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together seemed more than sufficient. This opportunity of making their cause honest in common opinion was not to be neglected, though otherwise they were unprepared for the action; wherefore knowing, or having reason to believe, that their own strength was such as would prevail in the end, they hastily embraced the fair oc-

respite allowed them to depart out of Italy ; whereas they who came last on the same errand, did their message without the walls, in the temple of Bellona, (the usual place of giving audience to open enemies, or to such commanders as might not, by reason of some custom, enter the city) and had only the short warning of eleven days to be gone out of Italy. Neither did this poor courtesy serve alone to hide the craft of Martius, as if he had meant none other than good earnest ; but it was a likely mean, both to keep a long while from Perseus the knowledge of his business, and to stagger his resolution when he should need it most firm.

And accordingly it fell out ; for Licinius the Roman consul was at Apollonia in a manner as soon as the Macedonian ambassadors were with their king at Pella ; which, though it were enough to have roused Perseus, and have made him lay aside all cowardly hope of getting pardon, yet was he content to deliberate a while, Whether it were not better to offer himself tributary to the Romans, and to redeem their good-will with some part of his kingdom that so he might enjoy the rest, than to put all at once to hazard. But, finally, the stoutest counsel prevailed, which also was the wisest ; and so would have proved, had it been stoutly and wisely followed. He now began, as if the war had not begun until now, to do what should have been done long afore : he caused all his forces to be drawn together, and appointed their rendezvous at Citium, a town in Macedon. All being in readiness, he did royal sacrifice with an hundred beasts to, I know not what Minerva, that was peculiarly honoured in his country ; and then, with all his courtiers and those of his guard, set forward to Citium. His army he found consisting of nine and thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse, whereof about twelve thousand foot and a thousand horse were strangers of sundry nations, most part

Thracians; the rest his own Macedonians. These he animated with lively speeches; laying before them the glory of their ancestors, the insolency of the Romans, the goodness of his cause, the greatness of his provisions, and the many advantages which they had of the enemy, especially in numbers. They answered him cheerfully with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all cities of Macedon there came likewise messengers offering to help him with money and victuals, according to their several abilities. He gave them thanks, but answered, That his own provisions would abundantly suffice, willing them only to furnish him with carts for his engines and munition.

Out of his own kingdom he issued forth into Thessaly, knowing that the Romans were to pass through that country in their journey towards him. Some towns of Thessaly opened their gates unto him without making offer to defend themselves; some he balked, thinking them too strong or well manned; and some he won by force. Of these last was Mylæ, a town thought impregnable, and therefore not more stoutly than proudly defended by the inhabitants, who gave contumelious language to the assailants. It was taken by reason of a sally which the townsmen rashly made, and being driven back, received the Macedonians, that entered pell-mell with them at the gates. All cruelty of war was practised here, to the greater terror of the obstinate. So Velatiæ and Connus (towns of much importance, especially Connus, which stood in the straits of Ossa leading into Tempe,) yielded at the first. Having well fortified this passage, the king marched onwards to Sycurium, a town seated on the foot of mount Ossa, where he rested a while expecting news of the enemy.

Licinius the consul brought with him only two Roman legions, being promised other strength of

auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. Eumenes and Attalus his brother came to him in Thessaly, with four thousand foot and a thousand horse. Thither also came, from every part of Greece, such aid as the several estates could afford or thought expedient to send, which from the most of them was very little. Of the kings abroad, Masinissa sent thither his son Misagenes with a thousand foot, as many horse, and two and twenty elephants. Ariarathes the Cappadocian, by reason of his affinity with Eumenes, was friend to the Romans, and had sent to Rome his young son there to be brought up; yet he did little or nothing in this war, perhaps because Eumenes himself began within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwise advised than he had been in the beginning. Prusias was content to be a looker on, as being allied to Perseus, and yet fearing the Romans. Antiochus and Ptolemy (though Ptolemy was then young and under tutors) had business of their own, the Syrian meaning to invade the Egyptian; yet each of them promised help to the Romans, which they cared not to perform. Gentius the Illyrian was inclinable to the Macedonian, yet made good countenance to the Romans for fear. It was a pretty trick wherewith M. Lucretius the Roman admiral's brother served him for this his counterfeit good-will. This king had four and fifty ships riding in the haven of Dyrrachium, uncertain to what purpose; all which Lucretius took away after a very kind sort, making shew to believe, That, for none other end than to serve the Romans their good friend Gentius had sent thither this fleet. But whatsoever Gentius thought in the beginning, he foolishly lost both his kingdom and himself in the end of this war, by offering, rather than giving, his help to Perseus.

With none other company than what he brought over the sea Licinius came into Thessaly, so tired with a painful journey through the mountainous

country of Athamania, which stood in his way from Epirus, that if Perseus had been ready attending his descent into the plains, the Romans must needs have taken a great overthrow. He refreshed himself and his wearied army by the river Peneus, where he encamped, attending his auxillaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was not any slender help that could enable him to deal with Perseus; therefore he resolved to abide where he then was and keep his trenches, until his numbers were sufficiently increased; contenting himself in the meanwhile to have gotten quiet entrance into the country. The land of Thessaly, in which these two armies lay, was better affected to the Romans than any part of Greece besides; as having been freed by them from a more heavy yoke of bondage to the Macedonian, when there was little hope or expectation of such a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitful, and abounding in all things needful to man's life; in the midst of it, but somewhat more to the east, was that beautiful valley of Tempe, so exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was often used at large to signify the most pleasant and goodly places. This valley of itself was not great, but adding to it those huge mountains Ossa and Olympus (famous in poesy) with their spurs or branches, by which it was on all sides inclosed, it occupied the better part of Thessaly; and this way were the Romans to enter into Macedon, unless they would make an hungry journey through the country of the Dassaretians, as in the former war with Philip they had long in vain attempted to do. Perseus, therefore, had no small advantage by being master of the straits leading into Tempe; though far greater he might have had it, by mispending of time, he had not lost it; for if, in defending the ragged passages of these mountains, he were able to put the Romans often to the worse,—yea, to win upon them (for a while) every year more than other, both in strength

and reputation,—questionless he might have done far greater things had he seized upon the straits of Aous, which his father once kept, and defended all the country behind the mountains of Pindus. Surely not without extreme difficulty must the Romans have either travelled by land, with all their carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no relief to be found, or else have committed their armies, and all things thereto needful, unto the mercy of seas that were very dangerous, if they would have sought other way into Macedon than through the heart of Greece; upon neither of which courses they once devised, notwithstanding any trouble which they found in this present war. It may perhaps be said, that the Greeks and others whom the king must have left on his back, would have made him unable to defend any places too far from his own home. But they were all, excepting the Thessalians, better affected now to him than they had been to his father in the former war. The Ætolians, upon whom the Athamanians depended, grew into suspicion with the Romans (as we shall find anon) even as soon as they met with Perseus. The Bœotians, how politickly soever Martius had wrought with them, adventured themselves desperately in the Macedonians quarrel; what would they have done if he at first had done his best? The Rhodians, Illyrians, yea, and Eumenes himself, after a while began to waver, when they saw things go better with Perseus than they had expected; so that if, instead of discouraging his friends by suing basely for peace, he had raised their hopes by any brave performance in the beginning, and increased the number of his well-willers, yea, and bought down with money (as he might have done) some of his enemies, and among them Eumenes, who offered, for good recompense, to forget his broken head,—then might the Romans perhaps have been compelled to forsake their imperious patronage over

Greece, and to render the liberty by them given entire, which otherwise was but imaginary. Such benefit of this war, since it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reason have been expected at first from greater advantages. But as a fearful company, running from their enemies till some river stay their flight, are there compelled by mere desperation to do such acts as, done while the battle lasted, would have won the victory, so it fell out with Perseus. In seeking to avoid the danger of that war whereof he should have sought the honour, he left his friends that would have stood by him, and gave them cause to provide for their own safety; yet being overtaken by necessity, he chose rather to set his back to the mountains of Tempe, and defend himself with his proper forces, than to be driven into such misery as was inevitable if he gave a little further ground. What was performed by him or the Romans all the while that he kept his footing in Thessaly, it is hard to shew particularly, for that the history of those things is much perished: Wherefore we must be contented with the sum.

The consul, having no desire to fight until such time as all his forces were arrived, kept within his trenches, and lay still encamped by the river of Peneus, about three miles from Larissa. That which persuaded the consul to protract the time, did contrariwise incite the king to put the matter into a hasty trial. Wherefore he invited the Romans into the field, by wasting the land of the Pheræans their confederates. Finding them patient of this indignity, he grew bold to adventure even unto their trenches, out of which if they issued, it was likely that his advantage in horse would make the victory his own. At his coming they were troubled for that it was sudden, yet no way terrified, as knowing themselves to be safely lodged. They sent out a few of king Eumenes's horse, and with them some light-armed foot,

to entertain skirmish. The captain and some other of these were slain, but no matter of importance done; for that neither Licinius nor Eumenes found it reasonable to hazard battle. Thus day after day, a while together, Perseus continued offering battle, which they still refused; whereby his boldness much increased, and much more his reputation, to the grief of those who, being so far come to make a conquest, could ill digest the shame that fell upon them by their enduring these bravadoes. The town of Sycurium, where Perseus then lay, was twelve miles from the Romans; neither was there any convenient watering in that long march, which used to take up four hours of the morning; but he was fain to bring water along with him in carts, that his men might not be both weary and thirsty when they came to fight. For remedy of these inconveniences he found out a lodging seven miles nearer to the enemy, whom he visited the next day by the sun-rising. His coming at such an unusual hour filled the camp with tumult, insomuch as, though he brought with him only his horse and light armature, that were unfit to assail the trenches, yet the consul thought it necessary and resolved to give check to his pride. Wherefore he sent forth his brother C. Licinius, king Eumenes, Attalus, and many brave captains, with all his power of horse, his velites, and all the rest of his light armature, to try their fortune, he himself remaining in the camp with his legions in readiness. The honour of this morning was the Macedonian king's, for he obtained the victory in a manner entire (though the Thessalians made a good retreat), with little loss of his own. But he discovered his weakness ere night, by hearkening, as princes commonly do, to counsel given by one of his own temper. For whereas the Romans were in great fear lest he should assault their camp, and to that purpose, upon the first news of his success, his phalanx was brought unto him by his cap-

tains, though dissent for; he nevertheless took it for sound advice, which indeed was timorous and base,—To work warily, and moderate his victory; by which means, it was said, that either he should get honest conditions of peace, or at least many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like that his good fortune would exalt the hope and courage of his friends. Yet had it been greater, and had he won the Roman camp, his friends would have been the more and the bolder. But over-great was his folly in hoping then for peace; and in suing for it even when he had the victory, what else did he than proclaim unto all which would become his partakers, that neither good nor bad fortune should keep him from yielding to the Romans whensoever they would be pleased to accept him? At this time the joy of his victory would admit none of these considerations. He had slain of the Roman horse two hundred, and taken of them prisoners the like number. Of their foot he had slain about two thousand; losing of his own no more than twenty horse and forty foot. The Roman camp, after this disaster, was full of heaviness and fear, it being much doubted that the enemy would set upon it. Eumenes gave counsel to dislodge by night, and remove to a surer place beyond the river Peneus. The consul, though ashamed to profess by so doing in what fear he stood, yet thought it better to acknowledge the loss past, than, by standing on proud terms, to draw upon himself a greater calamity. So he passed the river in the dead of the night, and encamped more strongly on the further side. The Ætolians were sorely blamed for this loss, as if rather a traitorous meaning than any true fear had occasioned their flight, wherein the rest of the Greeks followed them. Five of them, that were men of especial mark, had been observed to be the first which turned their backs,—an observation likely to cost them dear at a time of better leisure. As for the

Thessalians, their virtue was honoured with reward ; so as the Greeks might learn by examples of either kind, that if they would shun indignation or incur favour, then must they adventure no less for their lords the Romans than gladly they would do for their own liberty. Thus fared it with the consul and his army. Perseus came the next day to correct the former day's error, which how great it was, he not until then found. The Romans were gotten into a place of safety, whither they could never have attained, if the king had either pressed his victory, or given better heed to them that night ; his light armature alone being sufficient to have routed them whilst they were conveying themselves to the other side of Peneus. But it was vain to tell what might have been done, since there was no remedy. The Romans were beaten ; even the flower of their city, the gentlemen of Rome, out of whom were chosen their senators, and consequently the generals themselves, prætors, consuls, and all that bore office or command among them ; yea, they were beaten so shamefully that they stole away by night, and suffered him to gather up the spoils of them without resistance, as yielding themselves overcome. With such brave words did the king set out the glory of his action, dividing the spoils among his followers. But there was much wanting within him to have made his honour sound. He came nearer to the Romans and encamped at Mopselus, a place in the mid-way between Tempe and Larissa, as if it were his meaning to press them somewhat harder. Nevertheless he was easily persuaded to use the occasion which he seemed to have of obtaining peace ; therefore he sent unto the consul, and offered to yield unto the same conditions wherein his father had been bound unto the Romans, if the war might so take end. It were needless here again to shew the folly of this his course. Towards the accomplishment of this desired peace,

there was in the consul no greater power than to grant a truce, whilst ambassadors might go to Rome; it resting in the senate and people to approve the conditions and ratify the league: and of such a truce granted by Martius, he had lately found no small discommodity redounding. But Licinius dealt plainly, and returned answer, that other hope of peace there was none, save that Perseus would yield both his kingdom and person, simply and absolutely, to discretion of the senate. A manly part it was of Licinius to be so resolute in adversity. On the other side, it argued a faint heart in Perseus, that, having received an answer so peremptory, he still persisted making vain offers of great tribute. Finding that the peace which he so much desired could not be purchased with money, the king withdrew himself back to Sycurium. There he lay hearkening what the enemy did, whose forces were well repaired by the coming of Masagenes the son of Masinissa, with the aid before mentioned. This distance between the king and them caused the Romans to wax the more bold in making their harvest, about which business they ranged all over the fields. Their careless demeanour gave him hope to do some notable exploit, which he attempted both upon their camp and upon those that were abroad. The camp he thought to have fired on the sudden; but the alarm being taken in good season, he failed in the enterprise. As for the foragers, he had a good hand upon them, if he could have withdrawn it and given over in time; but whilst he strove to force a guard, he was visited by the consul, by whom, either in a skirmish of horse or (for the report is diverse) in a great battle, he was overcome. This misadventure, whether great or small, caused Perseus, after a few days, to fall back into Macedon, as being naturally given to fear danger, even where none was; whereby what loss he felt will appear hereafter. He left all behind him, save

through all the cities of Peloponnesus, gave out speeches tending to shew, That they liked no better of those who sought not by might and main to advance their business, than of those which were of the Macedonian faction. Their meaning was⁵, to have accused by name, in the parliament of Achaia, Lycortas, that worthy commander who nobly followed the steps of Philopoemen; and together with him, his son Polybius, who soon after was general of the Achæan horse, but more notable by that excellent history which he wrote than by his great employments, which he well and honourably discharged. The sum of the accusation should have been, That these were not hearty friends unto the Romans, but such as abstained from raising troubles, more for lack of opportunity than for any love to the common quiet. But since no colour of truth could be found that might give countenance to such a tale, it was thought better, for the present, to let it alone, and give gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the Ætolians: they demanded hostages, and found some in the council that approved the motion; as also among the Acarnanians there were that intreated to have Roman garrisons bestowed in their towns. But neither the one nor the other of these propositions took effect. They of the Roman faction accused not only such as were inclinable to the Macedonian, but also the good patriots; making it no less than a matter of treason to be a Grecian in Greece. On the contrary side, there wanted not some who roundly told these pick-thanks of their base flattery, rating them openly in such sort that one of them hardly escaped being stoned, even in presence of the ambassadors. Thus was all full of accusations and excuses; among which the ambassadors carried themselves as men that could believe none ill, though it were well enough known what they thought. The

⁵ Polyb. Legat. 74.

best was, that an order from the senate was brought into Greece and published, to this effect: That it should be free for all men to refuse obedience to any Roman magistrate imposing any burthen for the present war, unless it were such as the senate had likewise thought meet. Of this decree the whole country was glad; for it was, or seemed, a good remedy of many inconveniencies. But they that, standing on the privileges hereof, refused to fulfil every commandment, were numbered among the patriots; which in the end of this war proved little better, if not worse, than to have been traitors. The senate was driven to set down this order by reason of the many and vehement complaints brought to Rome concerning the wrongs done by the Roman magistrates, and especially by the admirals Lucretius and Hortensius. Lucretius was condemned in a great sum of money for the wrongs by him done, highly to the commendation of the Romans, in that they loved not to have their subjects oppressed. Hortensius, being still in office, had warning to amend.

Among the great number of embassages that came to Rome about this time, either to seek redress of injuries or to offer their services, it is note-worthy, that from Alabanda, a town of the Lesser Asia, there was presented unto the senate, and well-accepted, a most base piece of flattery. These Alabanders brought three hundred horsemen's targets and a crown of gold to bestow upon Jupiter in the capitol; but having a desire to gratify the Romans with some exquisite token of their dutiful obedience, wherein they would be singular, and being not able to reach unto any great performance, they built a temple unto the town of Rome, and appointed anniversary games to be celebrated among them in honour of that goddess. Now, who can wonder at the arrogant folly of Alexander, Antigonus, Ptolemy, and the like vain men, that would be thought gods, or at the shameless

flattery of such as bestowed upon men, and not the most virtuous of men, divine honour,--when he sees a town of houses, wherein powerful men dwell, worshipped as a goddess, and receiving (without scorn of the givers or shame of the present) the title of Deity, at the gift of such a rascal city as Alabanda?

SECT. VII.

Q. Martius, the Roman consul, with extreme difficulty and danger, enters into Tempe. The cowardice of Perseus in abandoning Tempe. The town of Diium quitted by Martius; repaired and fortified by the king. The Romans attempt many places with ill success. Their affairs in hard estate. Martius a cunning and a bad man. Polybius sent ambassador to Martius from the Achæans. Polybius's honest wisdom beneficial to the Achæans. King Eumenes grows averse from the Romans. Perseus negotiates with Antiochus and Eumenes. His false dealing with Gentius king of Illyria, whom he draws into the Roman war. He sends ambassadors to the Rhodians, who vainly take upon them to be arbitrators between him and the Romans. Perseus loseth a mighty succour of the Bastarnæ, by his wretched parimony.

AFTER two years of the Macedonian war things were further out of tune in Greece than when the war began, which had been thought likely to reform all those countries, and bring them to what pass the Romans desired, as it did in the end. Perseus had hitherto the better, and was stronger now than when he lived in peace; he had enlarged his borders on the Illyrian side, his friends in all parts of Greece took courage

daily, and his reputation grew such as caused those that were wholly Roman to suspect what the issue of the war might prove, and thereupon to become wise for themselves. Contrariwise, Licinius and Hostilius the consuls, had one after the other spent their time in vain, seeking way into Macedon, and defaced the glorious enterprise of conquest by many losses received. The Roman admirals had so demeaned themselves, that many towns, even of the best affected to Rome, kept them out by force. Generally the fear was great on the Roman side, and the army much lessened, not only by casualties of war, but by the facility of the tribunes or colonels, or else of the consul himself, (for they laid the blame one upon the other) in licencing the soldiers to depart. Quintius Martins the new consul, who succeeded unto Hostilius, was to amend all this, which nevertheless was more than he knew how to do, though he brought with him a strong supply of men. He began hotly to set the war on foot which a long time had slept; and he began the right way, not seeking to force the straits that were surely guarded, but taking pains to climb the mountains which were thought able to forbid all passage over them, without help or need of any custody. The king heard of his approach, and being uncertain what way he meant to take, distributed his own forces to the defence of all places which might give entrance or permit ascent. But the consul proceeded in his journey, with hope either not to be discovered by the enemy, or to break through all opposition, or at leastwise to fight on as convenient ground as they should have that lay to stop him; and at length, if all failed, to make a safe retreat. He sent before him four thousand of his most expedite foot to discover the ways. Two days was this company troubled in overcoming the difficulty of no more than fifteen miles, after which they had sight of the enemy that lay to deny their passage.

They occupied therefore a safe piece of ground, and sent back word to the consul where they were, entreating him to hasten unto them, which he did. The Macedonians were not a whit dismayed at his arrival, but met him and fought with him two or three days together, each returning to their own camp at night, with little loss on either side. This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a mountain, which gave scarcely room unto three to march in front; so that very few hands came to be employed, all the rest were beholders. In this case it was impossible to get forwards, yet a shame to return. Wherefore Martius took the only course remaining, and indeed the best. Part of his men he left with Popilius to attend upon the Macedonians, whilst he, with the rest, fetched a compass about, and sought out ways that never had been trodden. Herein he found extreme difficulty, which notwithstanding he overcame. Besides the troubles commonly incident to such journies, through places unfit for habitation, he was compelled, by labour of hand, to make paths where none were,—yea, where nature might seem to have intended that none should be. So steep he found the descent of the mountains in this way which he took, that, of seven miles which they travelled the first day, his men were compelled for the most part to roll themselves down, as not daring to trust their feet. Neither was this the worst, for they met with rocks that stood one over another, so upright and cumbersome to get down, that their elephants were afraid of the giddy prospect, and, casting their governors, made a terrible noise, which affrighted the horses and bred great confusion. Having therefore gone, or wallowed, four miles of this grievous journey, there was nothing more desired by the soldiers than that they might be suffered to creep back again the same way which they had come. But shift was made to let down the elephants by a kind of bridges like unto falling draw-

bridges, whereof the one end was joined to the edge of the cliff, the other sustained by two long posts fastened in the ground below. Upon these two posts, or poles, (which indeed not being very strong, since it was intended that they should be either cut or broken) were fastened two rafters, answerable in length to the distance between the higher and the lower fall, so as the end of one bridge might reach to the beginning of another. These were covered with planks and turf, that they might seem continent with the ground, so as to make the beasts adventurous to go upon them. If there were a plain of any good extent from the foot of a rock to the next downfall, then might the bridge be shorter. When an elephant was gone a pretty way upon one of these, the posts upholding the frame were cut asunder, thereby causing him to sink down unto the next bridge, whence he was conveyed in like manner to the third, and onward still to the very bottom. Thus went they down sliding, some on their feet, others on their buttocks, till they came to an even valley. By this it appears how thoroughly provided the Romans used to be, in their journies, of things needful on all occasions; as also what inestimable pains they took in this descent about the conveyance of themselves and all their carriages down the mountains. The next day they rested, staying for Popilius and his company, who hardly, or perhaps never, should have overtaken them if the enemy had followed and set upon him from aloft. The third and fourth days journies were like unto the first, save that custom and the nearness to their way's end, without meeting the enemy, caused them the better to endure the labour.

Perseus could not be ignorant of the Romans coming towards him, since they fought with his men upon the passage three days together, he lying so nigh that he might well near have heard the noise. Yet was he so possessed with fear, that he neither

stirred to help his own men or to hinder the consul, nor made any provision for that which might fall out ; but, as one void of counsel, sat hearkening after the event. Four only passages there were leading into Tempe ; the first by Connus, which the Romans were unable to force ; the second and third were the same which Martius had attempted in vain, and another like unto it ; the last by the city of Dium, out of Macedon. All these were sufficiently guarded, and whosoever would seek any other way must be fain to take such pains as Martius had undergone. The entrance by Dium was fairer than any of the rest, whereof only the king had benefit ; for that his enemies could not get thither, save through the valley itself, into which they must first pierce another way. Dium stood upon the foot of the huge mountain Olympus, about a mile from the sea ; of which mile the river Helicon becoming there a lake, and called Baphyras, took up the one half ; the rest being such as might easily have been fortified. Besides all these, there was in the midst of Tempe a passage, which ten men might easily keep, where the spurs of the mountains, reaching far into the valley, drew near to the very banks of Peneus, a goodly and deep river which ran through it. Wherefore nothing had been more easy than to make the consul repent him of his troublesome journey, if Perseus could have seen his own advantages. For the Roman army was not only in ill case to fight, after the vexation of that miserable travel, but must needs have either perished for want of victuals, or been enforced to return by the same way that it came, if the king had made good the streight of Dium. To have returned, and climbed up with their elephants and carriages against those rocks, from which, with extreme labour, they could hardly get down, it seems a matter of impossibility ; especially considering how the enemy, from above their heads, would have beaten upon them, being now a-

ware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they stole away from him. It may therefore be thought strange that the Romans did not rather take their journey into Macedon, from the side of Illyria, whence that kingdom had often been invaded, as lying open on that part, than put themselves to the trouble of breaking into Tempe; whence, after that they were there arrived, there was no means to escape without forcing one of those passages which they despaired to win. But the cowardice of Perseus did commend the counsel by them followed as wise: for he no sooner heard that the enemy was come over the mountains into Tempe, than he feared like one out of his wits, saying that he was vanquished, and had lost all without battle; herewithal he began to take out of Drum what he could carry away in haste, and straightways abandoned the town. In the same vehemency of amazement he sent a strait commandment to Thessalonica, that the arsenal there should be set on fire; and to Pella, that his treasures there should be cast into the sea; as if the Romans were like presently to be masters of these two cities. Nicias, who was appointed to drown the treasure, performed it hastily as well as he could; though soon after his master grew sorry for the loss, and it was all in a manner recovered by divers from under the water. But Andronicus, who had charge to set fire on the king's arsenal, deferred the execution, foreseeing that repentance might follow; and so he prevented the damage. Whether Nicias, for his absolute and blind obedience, or Andronicus, for his careful providence, merited the greater commendation, or more easy pardon, it rested in the king to interpret. The reward for their service was this. Perseus, growing ashamed of his mad cowardice that appeared in this hasty direction, caused them both to be slain; also those poor men which had fetched his treasure out

of the sea by their diving, were paid their wages after the same sort, that so there might be no witness of the king's base folly. Such end must they fear, who are privy to dishonourable actions of great princes. If Perseus would have gone surely to work for the hiding of his fault, then must he so royally have behaved himself that no man might believe him to be the author of any unworthy act or counsel. But his virtue was of no such capacity. He thought it enough to lay the blame upon others ; and therefore having called Hippias away (the captain which had stopped the consul on the top of the mountain) and Asclepiodatus from defence of the passages, whereto they were by him appointed, he rated them openly, saying that they had betrayed unto the enemy the gates and bars of Macedon. Of this reproach if they would discharge themselves, by laying it upon him, to whom ~~of right it belonged~~, then might they have sped as did Nicias and Andronicus.

The consul Martius had great cause to rejoice, for that the king so hastily relinquished his possession of Tempe, and all the passages leading thereinto, since the Roman army, this notwithstanding, was hardly able to subsist for want of victuals. He took Dium without resistance, and thence went forward into Macedon ; wherein having travelled about a day's journey, and gotten one town that yielded, he was compelled, by mere lack of food for his men, to return back towards Thessaly. His fleet came to him in this time of necessity, well appointed to have holpen him in the war, but having left behind at Magnesia the ships of burden which carried the provisions : wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his lieutenants had been careful to occupy one of the castles about Tempe which were forsaken by the Macedonians ; for by those ways only might corn be brought into the army. To meet the sooner with

this corn, which was most desirously expected, he forsook Dium, and went to Phila; by which foolish journey (if not worse than foolish) he lost more than a little the longer fasting had been worth. It is probable that his carts, with all or the most of his store, were lost among the mountains; for otherwise it had been madness to put himself on such an enterprise, so slenderly provided as that, without enforcement, or sight of the enemy, he should be fain to quit it. Howsoever it was, men thought him a coward, or at least a bad man of war, since he thus recoiled and gave off, when it most behoved him to have prosecuted the action.

By understanding the folly and cowardice of Martius, the king recollected himself, understood his own error, sought to hide it by such poor means as have been showed, and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repossessed the town of Dium, which he hastily repaired, finding it dismantled by the Romans. This done, he encamped strongly by the river Enipeus, meaning there to stop the enemy's proceeding all that summer. Less diligence, more timely used, would have been enough not only to have delivered Martius into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace, but to have given him such a noble victory as might cause the Romans to seek a good end of the war upon fair conditions, and not to begin again in haste. Yet this recovery and fortification of Dium was to the consul an exceeding hinderance; for little or nothing could afterward be done toward the conquest in hand in all the continuance of his office; only the town of Heraclea, standing on the river Peneus, five miles from Dium, was taken by force, or rather by a trick of climbing up on men's heads, somewhat after the manner of our tumblers. But it made such defence as it could, and was not given up for fear. After this, Martius did set a bold

face towards Díum, as if he would have taken it again, and have driven the king further off; though his intent or hope was nothing like so great, his chief care being to provide for his wintering. He sent the admiral to make an attempt upon the sea-towns, Thessalonica, Cassandrea, Demetrius, and others. All these were essayed, but in vain. The fields about Thessalonica were wasted; and some companies, that sundry times adventured forth of the town, were still put to the worse. As for the town itself, there was danger in coming near it either by land or sea, by reason of the engines which shot from the walls and reached unto the fleet; wherefore the admiral, setting sail from thence, ran along by Enia and Antigonea (landing near to each of them, and both doing and receiving hurt) until he came unto Pallene, in the territory of Cassandrea. There king Eumenes joined with him, bringing twenty ships of war, and five other were sent thither from king Prusias. With this access of strength the admiral was bold to try his fortune at Cassandrea, which was had. There was a new ditch lately cast by Perseus before the town, which while the Romans were filling up, question was made what became of the earth taken thence, for that it lay not upon the bank. By this occasion it was learned that there were arches in the town-wall filled up with that earth, and covered with one single row of brick. Hence the admiral gathered hope of making way into the town by sapping the walls. To this work he appointed such as he thought meetest, giving an alarm to the other side of the town, thereby to shadow his attempt. The breach was soon made; but whilst the Romans were shouting for joy, and ordering themselves for the assault, the captains within the town perceived what was done, and sallying forth unexpected, gave a fierce charge on the companies that were between the ditch and the wall; of

whom they slew about six hundred, and suffered few to escape unwounded. This disaster, and the want of good success on that part of the town which king Eumenes assailed (a supply in the meanwhile entering the town by sea), caused the siege to break up. Torone was the next place which the admiral thought meet to attempt, and thence likewise he was repelled. Finding this too well manned, he made way towards Demetrias, whereinto Euphranor, a Macedonian captain, was gotten before his coming, with such forces as were not only sufficient to have defended the town if the admiral had laid siege to it, but to keep the land about it from spoil; or at least (as they did) to make the enemy pay dear for all that he there got. This Euphranor had taken his journey to Demetrias by Melibea, whither the consul (that he might not be quite out of work) had sent his lieutenant to besiege it; and by the terror of his appearing suddenly over their heads, caused the besiegers to dislodge in all haste, setting their camp on fire.

Such fortune attended on the Romans, or rather so far was their ability short of their enterprises, ever since their consul (whether dastardly or carelessly), most unlike a good commander, had let go his hold of Macedon by forsaking Dium; yea, it is to be suspected that some greater harm befel them, or at least, that they were in some greater danger than is expressed in the broken remaining history of this war; for Martius persuaded the Rhodians, by Agesipolis their ambassador, who came to him at Heraclea about other business of less importance, that they should do well to interpose themselves as mediators, and seek to finish the war. Now, although Polybius do most probably conjecture¹, that this was rather a malicious device of Martius, craftily seeking to bring the Rhodians in danger (as anon it fell out) by their opposing the resolution of the senate, than that it

¹ Polyb. Legat. 80.

proceeded from any true fear in him, either of Perseus or of Antiochus, who had then an army on foot; yet since he made shew of fear, it is like withal that somewhat had happened, which might make his fear seem not counterfeit. And so were the Rhodians moved to think of him; not only for that the extraordinary courtesy both of him and of the admiral towards their ambassador, coming from proud natures did argue diffidence where there was no ambition to cause it; but much more for that shortly after the ambassadors of Perseus, and of Gentius the Illyrian, did set out their business at Rhodes, not more with the strength of a good fleet which the Macedonian had gotten, than with the honour of some victory wherein he had lately slain great numbers of the Roman horse. Thus much we find intimated², though the time, place, or other circumstances of the fight, be not specified. And hereto may be referred the report of those that were sent from Rome to view the estate of Martius's army; for they found the consul wanting meat, the admiral wanting men, and, for those few that he had, wanting both money and clothes; and Ap. Claudius the prætor, who lay on the frontier of Illyria, so unable to invade Macedon, that, contrariwise, he was in extreme danger, so as either he must quickly be sent for thence, or a new army be sent thither to him. Wherefore it may seem that some blow had been taken on the Illyrian side, which made all to halt, or at least that the Romans, with greater loss than is before spoken of, had been driven from some of the towns which they besieged,

Now although it were so that Martius, in very few of his actions, behaved himself like a man of war, yet in exercise of cunning, which one hath most aptly termed 'a crooked or sinister kind of wisdom,' he dealt as a craftsman, with a restless working di-

² Polyb. legat. 87.

ligence. This indeed neither proved his sufficiency, nor commended his honesty, since thereby he effected nothing to his own benefit; and nevertheless, out of envy, vain-glory, or such delight as weak and busy-headed men take in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made opposition to the good of his country. At such time as Perseus, by the success of his doings against Hostilius, had gotten much reputation, and was thought likely to invade Thessaly,—Archo, Lycortas, and other good patriots among the Achæans, judged it expedient for their nation to help the Romans as in a time of adversity, whom in prosperity they loved not to flatter. Wherefore Archo proposed a decree, which passed, that the Achæans should send their whole power into Thessaly, and participate with the Romans in all danger. So the army was levied, and Polybius³, with others, sent ambassadors unto Martius to certify him thereof, and know his pleasure. Polybius found the consul busied in seeking passage through Tempe into Macedon. He went along with the army and awaited the consul's leisure, till they came to Heraclea; where, finding the time convenient, he presented the decree, and offered the service of his nation whereinsoever it should be commanded. Martius took this very kindly, but said, that he needed now no manner of help. Forthwith Polybius dispatched home his companions to signify thus much, tarrying himself behind in the camp. After a while word was brought to Martius, that App. Claudius desired, or rather imperiously required of the Achæans, five thousand men, to be sent him into Epirus. It was manifest that Appius had need of these men; and that, if he were strong in the field, he might do notable service by distracting the forces of Perseus. But the labyrinthian head of Martius could not allow of such plain reason. He called unto him Polybius, to whom he

³ Polyb. legat. 78.

declared, that Appius had no need of such aid ; and therefore willed him to return home, and in any wise take order that the men might not be sent, nor the Achæans be put to such needless charges. Away went Polybius, musing, and unable to resolve whether it were for love to the Achæans that the consul was so earnest in this business, or rather for envy, and to hinder App. Claudius from doing any thing, since himself could do nothing. But when Polybius was to deliver his opinion in the council touching this matter, then found he a new doubt that more nearly concerned his own self and those of his own party ; for, as he was sure to incur the great indignation of the consul if he should neglect what was given him in charge, so was it manifest, on the other side, that the words by Martius uttered to him in private would prove no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they should refuse to help Claudius, alleging that he had no need. In this case, therefore, he had recourse unto the decree of the senate, which exempted men from necessity of doing what the Roman commanders should require, unless by special order from the senate the same were likewise appointed. So, for lack of warrant from the senate, this demand of Appius was referred unto the advice of the consul, by whom it was sure to be made frustrate. Hereby the Achæans were savers of more than an hundred and twenty talents, though Polybius himself ran into danger of Appius's displeasure ; and for such honest dealing in his country's behalf, was afterwards rewarded by the Romans with many a long year's imprisonment.

Whether it were by the like policy of Martius that king Eumenes grew cold in his affection to the Romans, or whether this king began, when it was too late, to stand in fear lest the fire, which he himself had helped to kindle, would shortly take hold on his own lodging ; or whether the regard of money were

able to oversway all other passions, it is hard to determine, since they that had better means to know the truth have not precisely affirmed any certainty. One report is, that Eumenes did not so much as give any help to Martius; but, coming to have joined with him in such friendly manner as he did with the former consuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in such anger that he refused to leave behind him certain horse of the Gallo-Greeks, being requested to have done it. If this were true, and that his brother Attalus, tarrying behind with the consul, did the Romans good service, then is the reason apparent of the hatred borne afterwards by the senate to Eumenes, and the love to Attalus. But it is more generally received, that Eumenes gave a willing ear to Perseus's desire of accord; for mere desire of gain; and it might well be that covetousness drew him on in the course whereinto indignation first led him. Howsoever it befall, Perseus caused Eumenes to be sounded, and found him so tractable, that he was bold to solicit him by an embassy. The tenor of his advertisements, both to Eumenes and to Antiochus was, that there could be no perfect love between a king and a free city; that the Romans had quarrel alike to all kings, though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and used the help of one against another; that Philip was oppressed by them with the help of Attalus, Antiochus with the help of Philip and Eumenes, and now Perseus assailed with the help of Eumenes and Prusias. Herewith he willed Eumenes to consider, that when Macedon was taken out of their way they would be doing with him in Asia, which lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to think better of Prusias than of him. In like sort he admonished Antiochus not to look for any good conclusion of his war with the Egyptian, so long as the Romans could make him give over by denouncing their will and

pleasure. Finally, he requested both of them, either to compel the Romans to surcease from their war upon Macedon, or else to hold them as common enemies unto all kings. Antiochus lay far out of the Romans' way, and therefore was little troubled with such remonstrances. Eumenes was more nearly touched, and as he felt part of this to be true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest; yet, when he should give answer, he began to offer a bargain of peace for money. He thought the Romans to be no less weary than Perseus was afraid; wherefore he promised, for his own part, that if he might have fifteen hundred talents for withdrawing his hand from this war, then he would remain a neuter therein; and that, for some greater quantity of money, (how much I find not), he would also bring the Romans to condescend unto peace; and for assurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to give hostages. Perseus liked well to receive the hostages, but not to lay out the money, especially before-hand, as was required. He would fain have peace with Rome, and not with Eumenes only. For procuring of this, he promised to be at any reasonable cost; but he would lay down the money in the temple at Samothrace, whence it should be delivered unto Eumenes after that the peace was fully concluded and ratified. The isle of Samothrace was Perseus's own, and therefore Eumenes thought the money no nearer to him, being there, than if it remained in Pella. Besides, his labour deserved somewhat, howsoever the business might happen to succeed; so that needs he would have part of his wages in *prêt*. Thus the two kings did no more than lose time, and Eumenes grew suspected of the Romans as a traitor.

After the same manner dealt Perseus with king Gentius the Illyrian. He had attempted this Illyrian before, who dealt plainly, and said, that without money he could not stir. Hereunto Perseus loved

not to hearken, thinking that his treasures would serve at the last cast to deliver him from all his fears. But when the Romans had gotten within Tempe, then did his fear urge him to prodigality, so as he agreed to pay three hundred talents, which Gentius demanded as a recompense. So the bargain was soon made, and pledges on both sides delivered for performance. This was openly done by Perseus, to the end that all his army might have comfort by such access of strength to their party. Presently upon the bargain made, ambassadors were sent to Rhodes both from Perseus and Gentius, who desired the Rhodians to take upon them as arbitrators between Perseus and the Romans, and to bring the war to an end. The Rhodians, thinking that Martius the consul was no less desirous of peace than the Macedonian, arrogantly promised that they, by their authority, would make peace, wishing the kings to shew themselves conformable. But the Roman senate, hearing proud words to the same effect from the Rhodian ambassadors, gave an answer as disdainful, angry, and menacing, as they could devise; so as this vain glory of the Rhodians was thoroughly chastised, and more thoroughly should have been, if their submission had not been as humble as their folly was proud. Such use of Gentius's friendship made Perseus, without laying out one ounce of silver. Now fain he would have hastened this young and rash Illyrian to enter with all speed into the war; but then must the money be hastened away. Pantauchus the Macedonian ambassador, who remained with Gentius, exhorted him daily to begin the war by land and sea whilst the Romans were unprovided; but finding what it was that made all to stay, he sent word to Perseus. Hereupon ten talents were sent to Pantauchus, who delivered it to the young king as earnest of that which followed. More followed indeed, and sealed up with the seal of the Illyrians, but carried by Macedonians,

and not too fast. Before this money came into Illyria, Gentius had laid hands upon two Roman ambassadors, and cast them into prison; which Perseus no sooner heard than he recalled his treasure-bearers and sent them with their load to Pella; for that now the Illyrian was of necessity to make war with the Romans, whether he were hired thereto or not.

There came about the same time through Illyria⁴, to the aid of Perseus, under one Clondicus a petty king, ten thousand horse and ten thousand foot of the Gauls, which were (as Plutarch hath it) the Bastarnæ. These had before-hand made their bargain, and were to receive present pay at the first. At their entry into the kingdom, Perseus sent one to them, desiring their captains to come visit him, whom he promised to gratify with goodly rewards, hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their general asked was, Whether the king had sent money to give the soldiers their pay in hand, according to his bargain? Hereto the messenger had not what to answer. Why then (said Clondicus), tell thy master, That the Gauls will not stir one foot further until they have gold, as was agreed, and hostages. Perseus hereupon took counsel,—if, to utter his own opinion before men so wise that they would not contradict him, were to take counsel. He made an invective against the incivility and avarice of the Bastarnæ, who came with such numbers as could not but be dangerous to him and to his kingdom. Five thousand horse of them, he said, would be as many as he should need to use; and not so many that he should need to fear them. It had been well done if any of his counselors would have told him, that there wanted not employment for the whole army of them, since, without any danger to the kingdom, they might be let out by the way of Perrhæbia into Thessaly; where, wasting

⁴ Liv. lib. xlv. Plutarch in vit. Æmyl.

the country, and filling themselves with spoil, they should make the Romans glad to forsake Tempe, even for hunger and all manner of want; therein doing the king notable service, whether they won any victory or not. This and a great deal more might have been alleged, if any man had dared to give advice freely. In conclusion, Antigonus, the same messenger that had been with him before, was sent again to let them know the king's mind. He did his errand; upon which followed a great murmur of those many thousands that had been drawn so far to no purpose. But Clondicus asked him now again, Whether he had brought the money along with him to pay those five thousand whom the king would entertain? Hereto, when it was perceived that Antigonus could make no better answer than shifting excuses, the Bastarnæ returned presently towards Danubius, wasting the neighbour parts of Thrace, yet suffering this crafty messenger to escape unhurt; which was more than he could have well expected.

Thus dealt Perseus like a careful treasurer, and one that would preserve his money for the Romans, without diminishing the sum. But of this painful office he was very soon discharged by L. Æmilius Paulus the new consul, who, in fifteen days after his setting forth from Italy, brought the kingdom of Macedon to that end for which God had appointed over it a king so foolish and so cowardly.

SECT. VIII.

Of L. Æmilius Paulus the consul. His journey. He forceth Perseus to discamp. He will not hazard battle with any disadvantage. Of an eclipse of the moon. Æmilius's superstition. The battle of Pydna. Perseus's flight. He forsakes his kingdom, which hastily yields to Æmilius. Perseus at Samothrace. He yields himself to the Roman admiral, and is sent prisoner to Æmilius.

By the war of Macedon, the Romans hitherto had gotten much dishonour; which, though it were not accompanied with any danger, yet the indignity so moved them, that either they decreed that province to L. Æmilius Paulus¹, without putting it, as was otherwise their manner, to the chance of lot between him and his fellow consul; or at least were gladder that the lot had cast it upon him, than that so worthy a man was advanced to the dignity of a second consulship. He refused to propound unto the senate any thing that concerned his province, until by his ambassadors, thither sent to view the estate of the war, it was perfectly understood in what condition both the Roman forces and the Macedonian at the present remained. This being thoroughly known to be such as hath been already told, the senate appointed a strong supply, not only unto the consul, but unto the navy, and likewise unto the army that lay between Illyria and Epirus; from which App. Claudius was removed, and L. Anicius sent thither in his place. Æmilius, before his departure from Rome, making an oration to the people, as was the custom, spake with much gravity and authority. He requested those that thought themselves wise enough

¹ Plutarch in vit. Æmyl.

to manage this war, either to accompany him into Macedon, and there assist him with their advice; or else to govern their tongues at home, and not take upon them to give directions by hearsay, and censure by idle reports; for he told them plainly, that he would frame his doings to occasions,—not to the expectation of the multitude. The like speech of his father L. Æmilius, who died valiantly in the battle of Cannæ, might well be living in some of their memories, which was enough to make them conform themselves the more gladly unto the instructions given by a wise and resolute consul.

All his business within the city being dispatched, Æmilius was honourably attended at his setting forth on his journey, with an especial hope of men that he should finish the war, though that he should finish it so soon and happily was more than could have been hoped or imagined. He came to Brundisium; whence, when the wind came fair, he set sail at break of day, and arrived safely at the isle of Corcyra before night. Thence passed he to Delphi, where, having done sacrifice to Apollo, after the fifth day he set forwards to the camp, and was there in five days more. So are there but five of the fifteen days remaining, in which he finished the war.

Perseus lay strongly encamped at Dium, having spared no labour of men and women to fortify the banks of Enipeus, where it was fordable in dry weather; so as there was little hope, or none, to force him, and consequently as little possibility to enter that way into Macedon. One great inconvenience troubling the Romans, and much disabling them to make attempt upon Dium, was lack of fresh water. For there were ten miles between Dium and Tempe; all the way lying between the sea-shore and the foot of Olympus, without any brook or spring breaking forth on that side. But Æmilius found present remedy for this, by digging wells on the shore, where

he found sweet springs, as commonly there is no shore that wants them, though they rise not above the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder Martius from taking up his lodging any nearer to the enemy than the town of Heraclea, on the river Peneus, where he had watering at pleasure, but could perform no service of any worth. Yet when the Roman camp had such means to lie close to the Macedonian, as it presently did, the passage onward being defended, as hath been already shewed, seemed no less difficult than before. Wherefore it was necessary to search another way, which by enquiry was found out. There was a narrow passage over Olympus, leading into Perrhæbia, hard of ascent, but slenderly guarded, and therefore promising a fair journey. Martius either had not been informed hereof, or durst not attempt it, or perhaps could not get his soldiers to make the adventure; they fearing lest it would prove such a piece of work as had been their march over Ossa into Tempe. But Paulus was a man of greater industry, courage, and ability to command. He had reformed, even at his first coming, many disorders in the Roman camp; teaching the soldiers, among other good lessons, to be obedient and ready in execution, without troubling themselves, as had been their manner, to examine the doings and purposes of their general. And now he appointed about five thousand men to this enterprise, whereof he committed the charge unto Scipio Æmilianus and Q. Fabius Maximus, his own sons by nature, but adopted; the one of them, by a son of Scipio the African; the other by one of the Fabii. Scipio took with him some light-armed Thracians and Cretans; but his main strength was of legionaries. For the king's guard, upon the mountain, consisted, in a manner, wholly of archers and slingers, who, though at some distance they might do notable service against those that should

climb up unto them ; yet when darkness took away their aim, they were like to make a bad night's work, being to deal with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceal the business about which they went, Scipio and Fabius took a wrong way towards the fleet, where victuals were provided for their journey ; it being noised, that they were to run along the coast of Macedon by sea, and waste the country. All the while that they were passing the mountains, (which was about three days,) the consul made shew of a meaning to set upon Perseus where he lay, rather to divert the king's attention from that which was his main enterprise, than upon any hope to do good, in seeking to get over Enipeus. The channel of Enipeus, which received in winter time a great fall of waters from the mountains, was exceeding deep and broad ; and the ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay well-near dry, yet it served not for those that were weightily armed to fight upon. Wherefore Æmilius employed none save his velites, of whom the king's light-armature had advantage at far distance, though the Romans were better appointed for the close. The engines from off the towers which Perseus had raised on his own bank, did also beat upon the Romans, and gave them to understand that their labour was in vain. Yet Æmilius persisted as he had begun, and continued his assault, such as it could be, the second day. This might have served to teach the Macedonians that some greater work was in hand, since otherwise a good captain, as Æmilius was known to be, would not have troubled himself in making such bravados, that were somewhat costly. But Perseus only looked unto that which was before his eyes, until his men that came running fearfully down the mountain, brought word into the camp that the Romans were following at their backs. Then was all full of tumult, and the king himself no less (if not more) a-

mazed than any of the rest. Order was forthwith given to dislodge ; or rather, without order, in all tumultuous haste, the camp was broken up, and a speedy retreat made to Pydna. Whether it were so, that they which had custody of the passage were taken sleeping, or whether they were beaten by plain force, Scipio and Fabius had very good success in their journey. It may well be, that they slept until the Romans came somewhat near to them, and then taking alarm, when their arrows and slings could do little service, were beaten at handy-strokes ; so as the different relations that are cited by Plutarch out of Polybius, and an epistle of Scipio, may each of them have been true. Thus was an open way cleared into Macedon, which had been effected by Martius in the year foregoing, but was closed up again, through his not prosecuting so rich an opportunity.

Perseus was in extreme doubt what course to take, after this unhappy beginning. Some gave advice to man his towns, and so to linger out the war ; having been taught by the last year's example, how resolute the people were in making defence. But far worse counsel prevailed, as generally it doth in turbulent and fearful deliberations. The king resolved to put all at once to hazard of battle, fearing belike to put himself into any one town, lest that should be first of all besieged, and he therein (as cowardly natures are always jealous) not over-carefully relieved. This was even the same that Æmilius, or any invader, should have desired. So a place was chosen near unto Pydna, that served well for the phalanx, and had likewise on the sides of it some pieces of higher ground, fit for the archers and light armature. There he abode the coming of the enemy, who staid not long behind him. As soon as the Romans had sight of the king's army, which, with greater fear than discretion, had hastened away from them, forsaking the camp that was so notably well fortified,

they desired nothing more than to give battle immediately, doubting lest otherwise the king should change his mind, and get further off. And to this effect Scipio brake with the consul, praying him not to lose occasion by delay. But Æmilius told him, that he spake like a young man, and therefore willed him to have patience. The Romans were tired with their journey,—had no camp wherein to rest themselves, nor any thing there, save only the bare ground whereon they trod. For these and the like respects, the consul made a stand; and shewing himself unto the Macedonian, who did the like, in order of battle, gave charge to have the camp measured out and entrenched behind the army; whereunto at good leisure he fell back, without any manner of trouble. After a night's rest, it was hoped, both by the Romans and the Macedonians, that the matter should be determined; each part thinking their own general to blame, for that they had not fought the same day. As for the king, he excused himself by the backwardness of the enemy, who advanced no further, but kept upon ground serving ill for the phalanx; as, on the other side, the consul had the reasons before shewed, which he communicated to those about him the next day.

That evening (which followed the third of September, by the Roman account,) C. Sulpicius Galus, a colonel, or tribune of a legion, who had the former year been prætor, foretold unto the consul, and (with his good liking) unto the army, an eclipse of the moon, which was to be the same night; willing the soldiers not to be troubled therewith, for that it was natural, and might be known long before it was seen. It was the manner of the Romans, in such eclipses, to beat pans of brass and basons, as we do in following a swarm of bees, thinking that thereby they did the moon great ease, and helped her in her labour. But this prognostication of Sulp.

picius converted their superstition into admiration of his deep skill when they saw it verified. Contrariwise, the Macedonians howled and made a great noise as long as the eclipse lasted; rather perhaps because it was their fashion, than for that they were terrified therewith as with a prodigy betokening their loss, since their desire to fight was no whit lessened by it. I will not here stand to dispute, whether such eclipses do signify, or cause, any alteration in civil affairs, and matters that have small dependance on natural complexion,—for the argument is too large. More worthy of observation it is, how superstition captivates the understanding of the wisest, where the help of true religion is wanting. Æmilius, though he were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the moon, that it was no supernatural thing, nor above the reach of human understanding, so as he should need to trouble himself with any devout regard thereof; yet could he not refrain from doing his duty to this moon, and congratulating with sacrifice her delivery, as soon as she shone out bright again; for which he is commended even by Plutarch, a sage philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If Sulpicius perhaps did not assist him in this foolish devotion, yet is it like, that he being a senator, and one of the council for war, was partaker the next morning in a sacrifice done to Hercules; which was no less foolish. For a great part of the day was vainly consumed ere Hercules could be pleased with any sacrifice, and vouchsafe to shew tokens of good luck in the entrails of the beasts. At length, in the belly of the one and twentieth sacrifice, was found a promise of victory to Æmilius; but with condition, that he should not give the onset. Hercules was a Greek, and partial, as nearer in alliance to the Macedonian than to the Roman. Wherefore it had been better to call upon the new goddesses, lately canonized at Alabanda, or upon Ro-

ulus, founder of their city, on whom the Romans had bestowed his deity ; or (if a God of elder date were more authentical) upon Mars the father of Romulus, to whom belonged the guidance of military affairs ; and who therefore would have limited his favour with no injunctions contrary to the rules of war.

Now concerning the battle,—Æmilius was thoroughly persuaded, that the king meant to abide it ; for that otherwise he would not have staid at Pydna, when as a little before his leisure served to retire whither he listed, the Romans being further off. In regard to this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the sacrifices, the consul thought that he might wait upon advantage, without making any great haste. Neither was it to be neglected that the morning sun was full in the Roman's faces, which would be much to their hinderance all the forenoon. Since, therefore, Perseus kept his ground, that was commodious for the phalanx, and Æmilius sent forth part of his men to bring in wood and fodder, there was no likelihood of fighting that day. But about ten of the clock in the morning, a small occasion brought to pass that whereto neither of the generals had over-earnest desire. A horse brake loose at watering, which two or three of the Roman soldiers followed into the river, wading after him up to the knees. The king's men lay on the further bank, whence a couple of Thracians ran into the water, to draw this horse over to their own side. These fell to blows, as in a private quarrel, and one of the Thracians was slain. His countrymen seeing this, hasted to revenge their fellow's death, and followed those that had slain him over the river. Hereupon company came in to help on each part, until the number grew such, as made it past a fray, and caused both the armies to be careful of the event. In fine, each of the generals placed his men in order of battle, ac-

cordingly as the manner of his country, and the arms wherewith they serve, did require. The ground was a flat level, save that on the sides a few hillocks were raised here and there, whereof each part might take what advantage it could. The Macedonians were the greater number, the Romans the better soldiers, and better appointed. Both the king and the consul encouraged their men with lively words, which the present condition could bountifully afford. But the king having finished his oration, and sent on his men, withdrew himself into Pydna, there to do sacrifice, as he pretended, unto Hercules. It is the less marvel that he durst adventure battle, since he had bethought himself of such a stratagem, whereby to save his own person. As for Hercules, he liked not the sacrifice of a coward, whose unseasonable devotion could be no better than hypocrisy. For he that will pray for a good harvest, ought also to plow, sow, and weed his ground. When, therefore, the king returned to the battle, he found it no better than lost; and he, in looking to his own safety, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the flight.

The acts of this day, such as we find recorded, are, that the Roman elephants could do no manner of good; that the Macedonian phalanx did so stoutly press onwards, and beat off all which came before it, as Æmilius was thereat much astonished; that the Peligni rushing desperately on the phalanx, were overborne, many of them slain, and the squadrons following them so discouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an hill. These were the things that fell out adverse to the Romans; and which the consul beholding, is said to have rent his coat-armour for grief. If the king, with all his power of horse, had in like manner done his devoir, the victory might have been his own. That which turned the fortune of the battle, was the same which

doubtless the consul expected even from the beginning,—the difficulty, or almost the impossibility of holding the phalanx long in order. For, whilst some of the Romans' small battalions pressed hard upon one part of it, and others recoiled from it, it was necessary, (if the Macedonians would follow upon those which were put to the worse,) that some files, having open way before them, should advance themselves beyond the rest that were held at a stand. This coming so to pass, admonished the consul what was to be done. The long pikes of the Macedonians were of little use, when they were charged in flank by the Roman targetiers; according to the direction given by *Æmilius*, when he saw the front of the enemies great battle become unequal, and the ranks in some places open, by reason of the unequal resistance which they found. Thus was the use of the phalanx proved unavailable against many small squadrons, as it had been formerly in the battle of *Cynoscephalæ*; yea, this form of embattling was found unserviceable against the other, by reason that, being not everywhere alike distressed, it would break of itself; though here were little such inconvenience of ground as had been at *Cynoscephalæ*¹.

Perseus, when he saw his battle begin to rout, turned his bridle presently, and ran amain towards *Pella*. All his horse escaped in a manner untouched, and a great number followed him; the little harm which they had taken, witnessing the little good service which they had done. As for the poor foot, they were left to the mercy of the enemy, who slew above twenty thousand of them; though having little cause to be furious, as having lost in that battle only some four-score or six-score men at the most. Some of the foot, escaping from the execution, overtook the king and his company in a wood; where they fell to railing at the horsemen, calling

¹ Chap. iv. sect. 14.

them cowards, traitors, and such other names, till at length they fell to blows. The king was in doubt lest they had ill meaning to himself; and therefore turned out of the common way, being followed by such as thought it good. The rest of the company dispersed themselves; every one as his own occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their king the number began within a while to lessen. For he fell to devising upon whom he might lay the blame of that day's misfortune, which was most due to himself; thereby causing those that knew his nature to shrink away from him how they could. At his coming to Pella, he found his pages and household servants ready to attend him, as they had been wont; but of his great men that had escaped from the battle, there was none appearing in the court. In this melancholy time, there was two of his treasurers that had the boldness to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their unseasonable admonitions, he stabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he sent for would come to him. This boded no good. Wherefore standing in fear, lest they that refused to come at his call, would shortly dare some greater mischief, he stole out of Pella by night. Of his friends he had with him only Evander, (who had been employed to kill Eumenes at Delphi,) and two other. There followed him likewise about five hundred Cretans; more for love of his money than of him. To these he gave of his plate as much as was worth about fifty talents, though shortly he cozened them of some part thereof; making shew as if he would have redeemed it, but never paying the money. The third day after the battle he came to Amphipolis, where he exhorted the townsmen to fidelity, with tears; and his own speech being hindered by tears, appointed Evander to speak what himself would have uttered. But the Amphipolitans made

it their chief care to look well to themselves. Upon the first fame of the overthrow, they had emptied their town of two thousand Thracians that lay there in garrison, sending them forth under colour of a gainful employment, and shutting the gates after them. And now to be rid of the king, they plainly bid Evander be gone. The king hearing this, had no mind to tarry; but embarking himself and the treasure which he had there, in certain vessels that he found in the river Strymon, passed over to the isle of Samothrace, where he hoped to live safe, by privilege of the religious sanctuary therein.

These miserable shifts of the king made it the less doubtful how all the kingdom fell into the power of Æmilius, within so few days after his victory. Pydna, which was nearest at hand, was the last that yielded. About six thousand of the soldiers that were of sundry nations, fled out of the battle into that town, and prepared for defence; the confused rabble of so many strangers hindering all deliberation and consent. Hippius, who had kept the passage over Ossa against Martius, with Pantauchus, who had been sent ambassador to Gentius the Illyrian, were the first that came in; yielding themselves and the town of Berea, whither they had retired out of the battle. With the like message came others from Thessalonica, from Pella, and from all the towns of Macedon, within two days; the loss of the head bereaving the whole body of all sense and strength. Neither did they of Pydna stand out any longer when they knew that the king had forsaken his country, but opened their gates upon such terms, that the sack of it was granted to the Roman army. Æmilius sent abroad into the country such as he thought meetest, to take charge of other cities; he himself marching towards Pella. He found in Pella no more than three hundred talents, the same whercof Perseus had lately defrauded the Illyrian.

But within a very little while he shall have more. It was soon understood that Perseus had taken sanctuary in the temple at Samothrace ; his own letters to the consul confirming the report. He sent these letters by a person of such mean condition, that his case was pitied, for that he wanted the service of better men. The scope of his writing was to desire favour ; which though he begged in terms ill be-seeming a king, yet since the inscription of his epistle was, *king Perseus to the consul Paulus* ; the consul, who had taken from him his kingdom, and would not allow him to retain the title, refused to make any answer thereunto. So there came other letters, as humble as could be expected ; whereby he craved and obtained, that some might be sent to confer with him about matters of his present estate. Nevertheless, in this conference he was marvellous earnest that he might be allowed still to retain the name of king. And to this end it was, perhaps, that he had so carefully preserved his treasure unto the very last ; flattering himself with such vain hopes as these, that the Romans would neither violate a sanctuary, nor yet neglect those great riches in his possession, but compound with him for money, letting him have his desire to live at ease, and to be called king. Yea, it seems that he had, indeed, even from the beginning, a desire to live in this isle of Samothrace ; both for that in one of his consultations about the war, he was dehorted by his friends from seeking to exchange his kingdom of Macedon for such a paltry island², and for that he offered to lay up the money which Eumenes demanded in the holy temple that was there. But he finds it otherwise. They urge him to give place unto necessity, and without much ado to yield to the discretion and mercy of the people of Rome. This is so far against his mind, that the conference breaks off without ef-

² Liv. lib. 42.

fect. Presently there arrives at Samothrace Cn. Octavius, the Roman admiral, with his fleet; who assays, as well by terrible threats as by fair language, to draw the king out of his lurking hole; wherein, for fear of imprisonment, he had now already imprisoned himself. When all would not serve, a question was moved to the Samothracians,—how they durst pollute their temple, by receiving into it one that had violated the like privilege of sanctuary, by attempting the murder of king Eumenes at Delphi? This went to the quick. The Samothracians being now in the power of the Romans, take this matter to heart, and send word to the king that Evander, who lives with him in the temple, is accused of an impious fact committed at Delphi, whereof unless he can clear himself in judgment, he must not be suffered to profane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reverence borne to his majesty now past, makes them forbear to say that Perseus himself is charged with the same crime. But what will this avail, when the minister of the fact being brought into judgment, shall, (as is to be feared,) impeach the author? Perseus therefore willed Evander to have consideration of the little favour that can be expected at the Romans hand, who are like to be presidents and overseers of this judgment; so as it were better to die valiantly, since none other hope remains, than hope to make good an ill cause; where, though he had a good plea; yet it could not help him. Of this motion Evander seems to like well, and either kills himself, or hoping to escape thence, by deferring the time, as it were, to get poison wherewith to end his life, is killed by the king's commandment. The death of this man, who had stuck to Perseus in all times of need, makes all the king's friends that remained hitherto to forsake him; so as none are left with him save his wife and children, with his pages. It is much to be suspected,

that they which leave him upon this occasion, will tell perilous tales, and say that the king hath lost the privilege of this holy sanctuary, by murdering Evan-der therein. Or, if the Romans will affirm so much, who shall dare to gainsay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formality, and even that also liable to dispute, which preserves him from captivity, he purposeth to make an escape, and fly with his treasures unto Cotys, his good friend, into Thrace. Oroandes, a Cretan, lay at Samothrace with one ship; who easily was persuaded to waft the king thence. With all secrecy the king's money, as much as could be conveyed, was carried aboard by night; and the king himself, with his wife and children, (if rather it were not true that he had with him only Philip³, his elder son, who was only by adoption his son, being his brother by nature,) with much ado got out of a window by a rope, and over a mud-wall. At his coming to the sea-side, he found no Oroandes there; the Cretans had played a Cretan trick, and he was gone with the money to his own home. So it began to wax clear day, whilst Perseus was searching all along the shore, who had staid so long about this that he might fear to be intercepted ere he could recover the temple. He ran therefore amain towards his lodging, and thinking it not safe to enter it the common way, lest he should be taken, he hid himself in an obscure corner. His pages missing him, ran up and down making inquiry, till Octavius made proclamation, that all the king's pages and Macedonians whatsoever, abiding with their master in Samothrace, should have their lives and liberty, with all to them belonging, which they had either in that isle, or at home in Macedon, conditionally, that they should presently yield themselves to the Romans. Hereupon they all came in. Likewise Ion, a Thessalonian, to whom the king had gi-

³ Plut. in vit. Æmil. Liv. lib. 46. Liv. lib. 42.

ven the custody of his children, delivered them up to Octavius. Lastly, Perseus himself, with his son Philip, accusing the gods of Samothrace that had no better protected him, rendered himself, and made the Roman victory complete. If he had not trusted in those gods of Samothrace, but employed his whole care in the defence of Macedon, without other hopes of living than of reigning therein, he might well have brought this war to an happier end. Now, by dividing his cogitations, and pursuing at once those contrary hopes of saving his kingdom by arms, and himself by flight, he is become a spectacle of misery, and one among the number of those princes that have been wretched by their own default. He was presently sent away to Æmilius, before whom he fell to the ground so basely, that he seemed thereby to dishonour the victory over himself, as gotten upon one of abject quality, and therefore the less to be esteemed. Æmilius used to him the language of a gentle victor, blaming him, though mildly, for having with so hostile a mind made war upon the Romans. Hereto good answer might have been returned by one of better spirit. As for Perseus, he answered all with a fearful silence. He was comforted with hope of life, or, (as the consul termed it,) almost assurance; for that such was the mercy of the people of Rome. After these good words, being invited to the consul's table, and respectively entreated, he was committed prisoner to Q. Ælius.

Such end had this Macedonian war, after four years continuance; and such end therewithal had the kingdom of Macedon, the glory whereof, that had some time filled all parts of the world then known, was now translated unto Rome.

SECT. IX.

Gentius, king of the Illyrians, taken by the Romans.

ABOUT the same time, and with like celerity, Anicius, the Roman prætor, who succeeded unto App. Claudius, had the like success against king Gentius, the Illyrian. Gentius had an army of fifteen thousand, with which he was at Lissus, ready to assist king Perseus as soon as the money should come, whereof he had received only ten talents. But Anicius arrested him on the way; fought with him, overcame him, and drove him into Scodra¹. This town was very defensible by nature, besides the help of fortification, and strongly manned with all the force of Illyria; which, assisted with the king's presence, made it seem impossible to be won in any, not a very long time. Yet Anicius was confident in his late victory, and therefore presented his army before the walls, making countenance to give an assault. The Illyrians, that might easily have defended themselves within the town, would needs issue forth and fight. They were, it seems, rather passionate than courageous, for they were beaten, and thereupon forthwith began amazedly to treat about yielding. The king sent ambassadors, by whom, at first, he desired truce for three days, that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him, who had laid violent hands on the Roman ambassadors, to have recourse to such mediation. But he thought his own fault pardonable, inasmuch as hitherto there was no greater harm done by him than the casting of those ambassadors into prison, where they were still alive. Having obtained three days respite, he passed up a river,

¹ Called now Scutari.

within half a mile of the Roman camp, into the lake of Scodra, as it were to consult the more privately; though indeed to hearken whether the report were true, that his brother Caravantius was coming to his rescue. Finding that no such help was toward, it is a wonder that he was so foolish as to return into Scodra. He sent messengers craving access unto the prætor, before whom, having lamented his folly past, (which, excepting the dishonesty, was not so great as his folly present,) he fell down humbly, and yielded himself to discretion. All the towns of his kingdom, together with his wife, children, brother, and friends, were presently given up. So this war ended in thirty days, the people of Rome not knowing that it was begun, until Perpenna, one of the ambassadors that had been imprisoned, brought word from Anicius how all had passed.

SECT. X.

How the Romans behaved themselves in Greece and Macedon, after their victory over Perseus.

Now began the Romans to swell with the pride of their fortune, and to look tyrannically upon those that had been unmannerly towards them before, whilst the war with Perseus seemed full of danger. The Rhodian ambassadors were still at Rome when the tidings of these victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the senate, and bid them do their errand again. This they performed with a bad grace, saying, that they were sent from Rhodes to make an overture of peace; forasmuch as it was thought that this war was no less grievous to the Romans themselves than to the Macedonians and many others; but that now

they were very glad ; and in behalf of the Rhodians did congratulate with the senate and people of Rome, that it was ended much more happily than had been expected. Hereto the senate made answer, that the Rhodians had sent this embassy to Rome, not for love of Rome, but in favour of the Macedonian, whose partisans they were, and should be so taken. By these threats, and the desire of some, (covetous of the charge,) to have war proclaimed against Rhodes, the ambassadors were so affrighted, that in mourning apparel, as humble suppliants, they went about the city, beseeching all men, especially the great ones, to pardon their indiscretion, and not to prosecute them with vengeance for some foolish words. This danger of war from Rome being known at Rhodes, all that had been any whit averse from the Romans in the late war of Macedon, were either taken and condemned, or sent prisoners to Rome ; excepting some that slew themselves for fear, whose goods also were confiscated. Yet this procured little grace, and less would have done, if old M. Cato, a man by nature vehement, had not uttered a mild sentence, and advertised the senate, that in decreeing war against Rhodes, they should much dishonour themselves, and make it thought, that rather the wealth of that city¹, which they were thought greedy to ransack, than any just cause, had moved them thereto. This consideration, together with their good deserts in the wars of Philip and Antiochus, helped well the Rhodians ; among whom none of any mark remained alive, save those that had been of the Roman faction. All which notwithstanding, many years passed, ere by importunate suit they could be admitted into the society of the Romans ; a favour which, till now, they had not esteemed, but thought themselves better without it, as equal friends.

¹ Cæsar in orat. apud Salust de Conjurat. Catilinæ.

With the like, or greater severity, did the Romans make themselves terrible in all parts of Greece. Æmilius himself made progress through the country, visiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure; yet not forgetting to make them understand what power he had over them. More than five hundred of the chief citizens in Demetrias were slain at one time by those of the Roman faction, and with help of the Roman soldiers. Others fled, or were banished, and their goods confiscated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the consul, the redress was such as requited not the pains of making supplication. His friends, that is to say, those which betrayed unto the Romans the liberty of their country, he feasted like a king, with excessive cheer; yet so, that he had all things very cheap in his camp,—an easy matter, since no man durst be backward in sending provisions, nor set on them the due price. Embassadors likewise were sent from Rome; some to give order for settling the estate of Macedon, towards which they had more particular instruction from the senate than was usual in such cases, and some to visit the affairs of Greece. The kingdom of Macedon was set at liberty by Æmilius and the ambassadors, his assistants, who had order therefore from the senate. But this liberty was such as the Romans used to bestow. The best part of it was, that the tribute which had been paid unto the kings, was lessened by one-half. As for the rest, the country was divided into four parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the nobility were sent captive into Italy, with their wives and children, as many as were above fifteen years old. The ancient laws of the country were abrogated, and new given by Æmilius. Such mischief the senate thought it better to do, at the first alteration of things in this province, and in the time of conquest, than otherwise to leave any inconvenience

that should be worse in the future. But concerning the Greeks that were not subject to Rome, the things done to them could deserve no better name than mere tyranny, yea, and shameless perjury; were it not so, that the familiar custom among princes and great estates of violating leagues, doth make the oaths of confederation of no validity. The ambassadors that were sent to visit the Greeks, called before them all such men of note, from every quarter, as had any way discovered an unserviceable disposition towards the Romans. These they sent to Rome, where they were made sure enough. Some of these had sent letters to Perseus, which fell at length into the Romans' hands; and in that respect, though they were not subjects, yet wanted there no colour for using them as traitors, or at least as enemies. But since only two men were beheaded for having been openly on the Macedonian side,—and since it is confessed, that the good patriots were no less afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had sold themselves to the king,—this manner of proceeding was inexcusable tyranny. With the Achæans these ambassadors were to deal more formally; not so much because that commonwealth was strong (though this were to be regarded by them, having no commission to make or denounce war,) and like to prove untractable, if manifest wrong were offered,—as for that there appeared no manner of sign by letters, or otherwise, whereby any one of the Achæans could be suspiciously charged to have held correspondence with the Macedonian. It was also so, that neither Callicrates, nor any of his adherents, had been employed by the nation in doing or offering their service to the Romans, but only such as were the best patriots. Yet would not therefore the ambassadors neglect to use the benefit of the time, wherein, since all men were troubled for fear of Rome, the season served fitly to rank the Achæans with the rest. And here-

to Callicrates was very urgent, fearing, and procuring them to fear in behalf of him and his friends, that if some sharp order were not now taken, he and his fellows should be made to pay for their mischievous devices, ere long time passed. So the ambassadors came among the Achæans, where one of them, in open assembly of the nation, spake as Callicrates had before instructed him. He said, that some of the chief among them had, with money and other means, befriended Perseus. This being so, he desired that all such men might be condemned, whom, after sentence given, he would name unto them. After sentence given, (cried out the whole assembly,) what justice were this? Name them first, and let them answer; which if they cannot well do, we will soon condemn them. Then said the Roman boldly, that all their prætors, as many as had led their armies, were guilty of this crime. If this were true, said Xenon, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence, then should I likewise have been friend to Perseus; whereof, if any man can accuse me, I shall thoroughly answer him, either here presently, or before the senate at Rome. Upon these words of Xenon, the ambassador laid hold, and said, that even so it were the best way for him and the rest to purge themselves before the senate at Rome. Then began he to name others, and left not until he had cited above a thousand, willing them to appear and answer before the senate. This might even be termed the captivity of Greece, wherein so many of the honestest and worthiest men were carried from home, for none other cause than their love to their country, to be punished according to the will of those who could not endure that virtue and regard of the public liberty should dwell together in any of the Greeks. At their coming to Rome, they were all cast into prison, as men already condemned by the Achæans. Many embassies were sent from Achaia, (where it is

to be wondered that any such honest care of these innocent men could be remaining, since honesty had been thus punished as a vice in so many of the worthiest among them,) to inform the senate, that these men were neither condemned by the Achæans, nor yet held to be offenders. But instead of better answer, it was pronounced, that the 'senate thought it not expedient for the country that these men return into Achaia.' Neither could any solicitation of the Achæans, who never ceased to importune the senate for their liberty, prevail at all, until, after seventeen years, fewer than thirty of them were enlarged, of whom that wise and virtuous man Polybius, the great historian, was one. All the rest were either dead in prison, or, having made offer to escape, whether upon the way, before they came to Rome, or whether out of jail after that they were committed thereto, suffered death as malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done upon the Epirots. For the senate being desirous to preserve the Macedonian treasure whole, yet, withal, to gratify the soldiers, gave order that the whole country of Epirus should be put to sack. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as also it was performed by Æmilius, with mischievous subtilty. Having taken leave of the Greeks, and of the Macedonians, with bidding them well to use the liberty bestowed upon them by the people of Rome, he sent unto the Epirots for ten of the principal men out of every city. These he commanded to deliver up all the gold and silver which they had; and sent along with them into every of their towns what companies of men he thought convenient, as it were to fetch the money. But he gave secret instruction to the captains, that upon a certain day by him appointed they should fall to sack every one the town whereinto he was sent. Thus in one day were threescore and ten cities, all confederate with the Romans,

spoiled by the Roman soldiers; and, besides other acts of hostility in a time of peace, a hundred and fifty thousand of that nation made slaves. It may be granted, that some of the Epirotes deserved punishment, as having favoured Perseus. But since they among this people that were thought guilty of this offence, yea, or but coldly affected to the Romans, had been already sent into Italy, there to receive their due; and since this nation in general was not only at the present in good obedience, but had, even in this war, done good service to the Romans,—I hold this act so wicked, that I should not believe it, had any one writer delivered the contrary. But the truth being manifest by consent of all, it is the less marvellous that God was pleased to make Æmilius childless, even in the glory of his triumph, how great soever otherwise his virtues were.

In such manner dealt the Romans, after their victory, with the Greeks and Macedonians. How terrible they were to other kingdoms abroad, it will appear by the efficacy of an embassy sent from them to Antiochus; whereof before we speak, we must speak somewhat of Antiochus's foregoers, of himself, and of his affairs, about which these ambassadors came.

SECT. XI.

The war of Antiochus upon Egypt, brought to end by the Roman ambassadors.

ANTIOCHUS the Great, after his peace with the Romans, did nothing that was memorable in the short time following of his reign and life. He died the six-and-thirtieth year after he had worn a crown, and in the seventeenth or eighteenth of Ptolemy.

Epiphanes, while he attempted to rob the temple of Bel, or (according to Justin¹) of Jupiter. He left behind him three sons, Seleucus Philopater, Antiochus Epiphanes, Demetrius Soter; and one daughter, Cleopatra, whom he had given in marriage to Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt. Seleucus, the fourth of that name, and the eldest of Antiochus's sons, reigned in Syria twelve years, according to Eusebius, Appian, and Sulpitius², though Josephus give him but seven. A prince, who, as he was slothful by nature, so the great loss which Antiochus received, took from him the means of managing any great affair. Of him, about three hundred years before his birth, Daniel gave this judgment: "Et stabit in loco ejus vilissimus et indignus decore regio³:" And in his place (speaking of Antiochus the father of this man) shall start up a vile person, unworthy the honour of a king. Under this Seleucus, those things were done which are spoken of Onias the high-priest, in these words, and other to the same effect: "What time as the holy city was inhabited with all peace, because of the godliness of Onias the priest, it came to pass, that even the king did honour the place, and garnished the temple with great gifts⁴." And all that is written in the third chapter of the second of Maccabees, of Simon, of Benjamin, who by Apollonius betrayed the treasures of the temple; and of Heliodorus sent by the king to seize them; of his miraculous striking by God; and his recovery at the prayers of Onias; of the king's death, and of his successor Antiochus Epiphanes. It is therefore from the reign of this king, that the books of the Maccabees take beginning; which books seem not to be delivered by one and the same hand. For the first book, although it touch upon Alexander the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his

¹ Strab lib. xvi. Just. lib. 85.
xii. c. 5.

³ Dan. xi. 21.

² Euseb. in Chron. App. de bell. Syr. Ant.

⁴ ii Maccabees c. iii.

story, nor of the acts of his successors, till the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, the brother and successor of this Seleucus; from whom downward to the death of Simon Maccabeus, (who died in the hundredth threescore and seventeenth year of the Greeks in Syria,) that first book treateth. The author of the second book, although he take the story somewhat further off, by way of a proem, yet he endeth with the hundred and one-and-fiftieth year of the Grecian reign, and with the death of Nicanor, slain by Judas; remembering in the fourth chapter the practice of Jason, the brother of Onias, who, after the death of Seleucus, prevailed with Antiochus Epiphanes, his successor, for the priesthood. It is also held by Jansenius and other grave writers, that it was in the time of this Onias, that Arius, king of the Spartans, sent ambassadors to the Jews, as to their brothers and kinsmen⁵. Which intelligence between them and the Greeks, Jonathan the brother and successor of Judas remembereth in the preamble of that epistle, which he himself directed to the people of Sparta by Numenius and Antipater, his ambassadors, whom he employed at the same time to the senate of Rome, repeating also the former letters, word by word, which Arius had sent to Onias the high-priest; whereto Josephus adds, that the name of the Lacedæmonian ambassador was Demoteles, and that the letters had a square volume, and were sealed with an eagle holding a dragon in her claws.

Now to this Seleucus, the fourth of that name, succeeded Antiochus Epiphanes, in the hundred and seven-and-thirtieth year of the Greeks in Syria. He was the second son of the great Antiochus; and he obtained his kingdom by procuring the death of the king his brother; which also he usurped from his brother's son.

⁵ ii Mac. ii. 12. Super Eccles. c. v.

Ptolemy Philometor, his nephew by his sister Cleopatra, being then very young, had been about seven years king of Egypt.

Ptolemy Epiphanes, the father of this king Philometor, had reigned in Egypt four and twenty years in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. Philip of Macedon and the great Antiochus had agreed to divide his kingdom between them whilst he was a child; but they found such other business, ere long, with the Romans, as made them give over their unjust purpose; especially Antiochus, who gave with his daughter in marriage, unto this Ptolemy, the provinces of Coelosyria, Phenice, and Judea, which he had won by his victory over Scopas, that was general of the Egyptian forces in those parts. Nevertheless Ptolemy adhered to the Romans, whereby he lived in greater security. He left behind him two sons, this Ptolemy Philometor, and Ptolemy Physcon, with a daughter, Cleopatra.—Cleopatra was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the younger, by whom she was east off, and her daughter taken in her stead. Such were the marriages of these Egyptian kings.

Ptolemy Philometor, so called (that is, the lover of his mother,) by a bitter nick-name, because he slew her, fell into hatred with his subjects, and was like to be chased out of his kingdom, his younger brother being set up against him. Physcon having a strong party, got possession of Alexandria; and Philometor held himself in Memphis, craving succour of king Antiochus his uncle. Hereof Antiochus was glad, who, under colour to take upon him the protection of the young prince, sought by all means possible to possess himself of that kingdom. He sent Appollonius, the son of Menestheus, ambassador into Egypt, and, under colour to assist the king's coronation, he gave him instructions to persuade the governors of the young king Philometor to deliver the king his nephew, with the

principal places of that kingdom into his hands, pretending an extraordinary care and desire of his nephew's safety and well-doing ; and, the better to answer all argument to the contrary, he prepared a forcible army to attend him. Thus came he along the coast of Syria to Joppe, and from thence on the sudden he turned himself towards Jerusalem, where, by Jason the priest⁶ (a chaplain fit for such a patron) he was with all pomp and solemnity received into the city. For though lately, in the time of Seleucus, the brother and predecessor of Epiphanes⁷, that impious traitor Simon, of the tribe of Benjamin, ruler of the temple, when he would have delivered the treasures thereof to Appollonius the governor of Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from heaven, the said Appollonius being stricken by the angel of God, and recovering again at the prayer of Onias ; yet sufficed not this example to terrify others from the like ungodly practices. Presently upon the death of Seleucus, this Jason, the brother of Onias, seeking to supplant his brother, and to obtain the priesthood for himself, offered unto the king three hundred and threescore talents of silver, with other rents and sums of money. So he got his desire⁸, though he not long enjoyed it.

This naughty dealing of Jason, and his being overreached by another in the same kind, calls to mind a by-word taken up among the Achæans, when as that mischievous Callicrates, who had been too hard for all worthy and virtuous men, was beaten at his own weapon by one of his own condition. It went thus :—

One fire than other burns more forcibly ;
One wolf than other wolves does bite more sore ;
One hawk than other hawks more swift does fly :
So one most mischievous of men before,

⁶ 2 Mac. c. 4.

⁷ 2 Mac. c. 3.

⁸ 2 Mac. c. 4.

Callicrates, false knave as knave might be,
Met with Menalcidas more false than he.

And even thus fell it out with Jason, who, within three years after, was betrayed and overbidden by Menelaus the brother of Simon, that, for three hundred talents more, obtained the priesthood himself; Jason thereupon being forced to fly from Jerusalem and to hide himself among the Ammonites.

From Jerusalem, Antiochus marched into Phœnicia, to augment the numbers of his men of war and to prepare a fleet for his expedition into Egypt; with which, and with a mighty army of land-forces, ‘He went about to reign over Egypt’, that he might have the dominion of two realms; and entered Egypt with a mighty company, with chariots and elephants, with horsemen, and with a great navy, and moved war against Ptolemæus king of Egypt; but Ptolemæus was afraid of him and fled, and many were wounded to death. He won many strong cities, and took away the spoils of the land of Egypt.’ Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel⁹: ‘He shall enter into the quiet and plentiful provinces, and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his father’s fathers.’ Never indeed had any of the kings of Syria so great a victory over the Egyptians, nor took from them so great riches; for he gave a notable overthrow to the captains of Ptolemy between Pelusium and the hill Cassius, after which he entered and sacked the greatest and richest of all the cities of Egypt¹⁰, Alexandria excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that Antiochus had smitten Egypt, ‘He turned again and went up towards Israel and Jerusalem with a mighty people’¹¹, and entered proudly into the sanctuary, and took away the golden altar and

9 1 Mac. c. 1. v. 17, 18, 19, 20, &c.

11 Hieron. in Dan.

10 Dan. c. 11. v. 24.

12 1 Mac. c. 1. .

‘ the candlestick for the light, and all the instru-
‘ ments thereof, and the table of the shew-bread,
‘ and the pouring vessels, and the bowls, and the
‘ golden basons, and the vail, and the crowns, and
‘ the golden apparel. He took also the silver and
‘ the gold, and the precious jewels, and the secret
‘ treasures; and when he had taken away all, he
‘ departed into his own land, after he had murdered
‘ many men.’

It was about the beginning of the Macedonian war that Antiochus took in hand this Egyptian business¹³; at what time he first laid claim to Coelosyria, justifying his title by the same allegations which his father had made¹⁴; and stiffly averring, that this province had not been consigned over to the Egyptian, or given in dowry with Cleopatra. Easy it was to approve his right unto that which he had already gotten¹⁵, when he was in a fair way to get all Egypt. The Achæans, Rhodians, Athenians, and other of the Greeks, pressed him, by several embassages, to some good conclusion. But his answer was, that if the Alexandrians could be contented to receive their king, his nephew Philometor, the elder brother of the Ptolemies, then should the war be presently at an end, otherwise not. Yet when he saw that it was an hard piece of work to take Alexandria by force, he thought it better to let the two brothers consume themselves with intestine war, than by the terror of his arms, threatening destruction unto both of them, to put into them any desire of coming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his forces for the present, leaving the Ptolemies in very weak estate; the young almost ruined by his invasion, the elder hated and forsaken by his people.

But how weak soever these Egyptians were, their hatred was thought to be so strong, that Antiochus might leave them to the prosecution thereof, and

13 Lib. vi.

14 Cap. 5. § 2.

15 Polyb. Legat. 81, 82, &c.

‘ gold, and as bands of spearmen, and as troops of
‘ horsemen set in array, encountering and coursing
‘ one against another.’ Of these prodigious signs, or
rather forewarnings of God, all histories have delivered us, some more, some less. Before the destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian, a star in the form of a sword appeared in the heavens, directly over the city; after which there followed a slaughter like unto this of Epiphanes, though far greater. In the Cymbrian wars, Pliny tells us, that armies were seen fighting in the air from the morning till the evening.²⁰

In the time of pope John the eleventh, a fountain poured out blood instead of water, in or near the city of Genoa; soon after which the city was taken by the Saracens with great slaughter. Of these and the like prodigious signs, Vipera hath collected many and very remarkable²¹. But this one seemeth to me the most memorable, because the most notorious. All men know that in the emperor Nero, the offspring of the Cæsars, as well natural as adopted, took end; whereof this notable sign gave warning.—When Livia was first married to Augustus, an eagle let fall into her arms a white hen, holding a laurel branch in her mouth²². Livia caused this hen to be carefully nourished, and the laurel branch to be planted: of the hen came a fair increase of white poultry, and from the little branch there sprang up in time a grove of laurel; so that afterwards, in all triumphs, the conquerors did use to carry in their hands a branch of bays taken out of this grove, and, after the triumphs ended, to set it again in the same ground; which branches were observed, when they happened to wither, to foreshew the death of those persons who carried them in triumph. And in the

20 Plin. lib. ii. c. 57.

21 Mercur. Vipera de Prodig. lib. viii. Vipera de prisco et sacro instituto.

22 Sueton. Galba.

last year of Nero, all the broods of the white hen died, and the whole grove of bays withered at once. Moreover, the heads of all the Cæsars' statues, and the sceptre placed in Augustus's hand, were stricken down with lightning. That the Jews did not think such strange signs to be unworthy of regard, it appears by their calling upon God, and praying that these tokens might turn to good.

Now, as the first voyage of Antiochus into Egypt was occasioned by discord of the two brethren therein reigning, so was his second expedition caused by their good agreement; for the elder Ptolemy being left in Memphis, not strong enough to force his brother, who had defended Alexandria against all the power of their uncle, thought it the best way to seek entrance into that royal city rather by persuasion than by arms. Physcon had not as yet forgotten the terror of the former siege; the Alexandrians, though they loved not Philometor, yet loved they worse to live in scarcity of victuals (which was already great among them, and like to grow extreme); since nothing was brought in from the country, and the friends of the younger brother saw no likelihood of good issue to be hoped for without reconciliation.— These good helps, and above all these, the loving dispositions of Cleopatra, who then was in Alexandria, encouraged Philometor in his purpose. But that which made him earnestly desirous to accomplish it, was the fear wherein he stood of his uncle. For though Antiochus was gone out of Egypt with his army, yet had he left behind him a strong garrison in Pelusium, retaining that city, which was the key of Egypt, to his own use. This consideration wrought also with Physcon and with those that were about him; so as by the vehement mediation of Cleopatra, their sister, the two brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the news of this accord was brought to Antiochus, he was greatly enraged; for notwithstanding that he had pretended no other thing than the establishment of king Philometor his nephew, and a meaning to subject his younger brother unto him, which he gave in answer to all ambassadors,—yet he now prepared to make sharp war upon them both. And to that end he presently furnished and sent out his navy towards Cyprus, and drew his land-army into Coelosyria, ready to enter Egypt the spring following. When he was on his way as far as Rhinocorura, he met with ambassadors sent from Ptolemy.—Their errand was partly to yield thanks to Antiochus for the establishing of Philometor in his kingdom; partly to beseech him that he would rather be pleased to signify what he required to have done in Egypt, which should be performed, than to enter it as an enemy with so puissant an army. But Antiochus returned this short answer, That he would neither call back his fleet, nor withdraw his army, upon any other condition, than that Ptolemy should surrender into his hands, together with the city of Pelusium, the whole territory thereto belonging; and that he should also abandon and leave unto him the isle of Cyprus, with all the right that he had unto either of them for ever. For answer unto these demands, he set down a day certain, and a short one; which being come and passed without any accord made, the Syrian fleet entered Nilus, and recovered as well those places which appertained to Ptolemy in Arabia, as in Egypt itself; for Memphis, and all about it, received Antiochus, being unable to resist him. The king, having now no stop in his way to Alexandria, passed on thitherwards by easy journeys.

Of all these troubles passed, as well as of the present danger wherein Egypt stood, the Romans had notice long ago; but they found, or were contented

to find, little reason for them to intermeddle therein; for it was a civil war, and wherein Antiochus seemed to take part with the juster cause. Yet they gave signification that it would be much displeasing unto them to have the kingdom of Egypt taken from the rightful owners. More they could not, or would not do, being troubled with Perseus; and therefore loth to provoke Antiochus too far. Nevertheless, the Egyptian kings being reconciled, and standing jointly in need of help against their uncle, who prepared and made open war against them both, it was to be expected, that not only the Romans, but many of the Greeks, as being thereto obliged by notable benefits, should arm in defence of their kingdom. Rome had been sustained with food from Egypt in the war of Hannibal, when Italy, lying waste, had neither corn nor money wherewith to buy sufficient store. By help of the Egyptian had Arratus laid the foundation of that greatness whereto the Achæans attained; and by the like help had Rhodes been defended against Demetrius Poliorcetes. Neither were these friendly turns, which that bountiful house of the Ptolemies had done for sundry people abroad, ill followed or seconded by other as had in requital, but with the continuance of suitable beneficence from time to time increased. Wherefore the two brothers sent abroad confidently for aid, especially to the Rhodians and Achæans, who seemed most able to give it effectually. To the Romans, Physcon and Cleopatra had sent a year since, but their ambassadors lay still in Rome. Of the Achæans they desired in particular that Lycortas, the brave warrior, might be sent to them as general of all the auxillaries, and his son Polybius general of the horse. Hereunto the Achæans readily condescended, and would immediately have made performance, if Callicrates had not interposed his mischievous art. He, whether seeking occasion to vaunt his obsequiousness to the Ro-

mans, or, much rather, envying those noble captains whose service the kings desired, withstood the common voice, which was, that their nation should not with such small numbers as were requested, but with all their power, be aiding unto the Ptolemies. For it was not now (he said) convenient time to entangle themselves in any such business as might make them the less able to yield unto the Romans what help soever should be required in the Macedonian war. And in this sentence he, with those of his faction, obstinately persisted; terrifying others with big words, as it were, in behalf of the Romans. But Polybius affirmed that Martius, the late consul, had signified unto him that the Romans were past all need of help; adding farther, that a thousand foot and two hundred horse might well be spared to the aid of their benefactors, the Egyptian kings, without disabling their nation to perform any service to the Romans; forasmuch as the Achæans could, without trouble, raise thirty or forty thousand soldiers. All this notwithstanding, the resolution was deferred from one meeting to another, and finally broken by the violence of Callicrates. For when it was thought that the decree should have passed, he brought into the theatre where the assembly was held, a messenger with letters from Martius, whereby the Achæans were desired to conform themselves to the Roman senate, and to labour, as the senate had done, by sending ambassadors to set Egypt in peace. This was an advice against all reason; for the senate had indeed sent ambassadors to make peace, but as in a time of greater business elsewhere, with such mild words, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely that the Achæans should do any good in the same kind. Yet Polybius and his friends durst not gainsay the Roman council, which had the force of an injunction. So the kings were left in much distress, disappointed of their expectation. But with-

in a while was Perseus overcome; and then might the ambassador sent from the Roman senate perform as much as any army could have done.

Audience had been lately given by the senate unto those ambassadors of Physcon and Cleopatra; which having staid more than a whole year in the city, brought nothing of their business to effect until now. The ambassadors delivered their message in the name of those that had sent them; though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) Philometor no less than his brother and sister.

In this embassy of Ptolemy, now requesting help from Rome, appeared a notable change of his fortune, from such as it had been before three or four years last past. For in the beginning of these his troubles, which began with the Macedonian war, either he or Eulæus²³, or Lenæus, (upon whom the blame was afterwards laid,) which had the government of him, thought his affairs in such good estate, that not only he determined to set upon Antiochus for Coelosyria, but would have interposed himself between the Romans and Perseus as a competent arbitrator; though it fell out well that his ambassador was by a friend persuaded to forget that point of his errand. From these high thoughts he fell on the sudden, by the rebellion of his brother and subjects, to live under the protection of the same Antiochus. And now at such time, as by the atonement with his brother and subjects he might have seemed to stand in no need of such protection, he hath remaining none other help whereby to save both his kingdom and life than what can be obtained by their intercession which were employed against him. This miserable condition of him, his brother and sister, shewed itself even in the habit of those ambassadors. They were poorly clad; the hair of their heads and beards overgrown, as was their man-

²³ Polyb. Legat. 72.

ner in time of affliction ; and they carried in their hands branches of olive. Thus they entered into the senate, and there fell groveling and prostrate upon the floor. Their garments were not so mean and mournful, nor their looks and countenances so sad and dejected, but that their speech was than either of the other far more lamentable. For, having told in what danger their king and country stood, they made a pitiful and grievous complaint unto the senate, beseeching them to have compassion of their estate and of their princes, who had always remained friendly and faithful to the Romans. They said, that the people of Rome had so much heretofore favoured this Antiochus in particular, and were of such account and authority with all other kings and nations, as if they pleased but to send their ambassadors and let Antiochus know that the senate was offended with his undertaking upon the king their confederate, then would he presently raise his siege from before Alexandria, and withdraw his army out of Egypt into Syria. But that if the senate protracted any time, or used any delay, then should Ptolemy and Cleopatra be shortly driven out of their realms, and make repair to Rome, with shameful dishonour to the senate and people thereof, in that, in the extreme dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchsafed to relieve them.

The lords of the senate, moved with compassion, sent incontinently C. Popilius Lenus, C. Decimius, and A. Hostilius, as ambassadors, to determine and end the war between those kings. In commission they had first to find king Ptolemy and then Antiochus, and to let them both understand, that unless they surceased and gave over arms they would take that king no more for a friend to the senate and people of Rome whom they found obstinate or using delay. So these Romans, together with the Alex.

andrian ambassadors, took their leave, and went onward their way within three days after.

When Popilius and his fellows were on their way towards Egypt, Antiochus had transported his army over Lucine, some forty miles from Alexandria ; so near was he to the end of his journey when the Roman ambassadors met him. After greeting and salutations at their first encounter, Antiochus offered his right hand to Popilius ; but Popilius filled it with a roll of paper, willing him to read those mandates of the senate before he did any thing else. Antiochus did so ; and having a little while considered of the business, he told Popilius that he would advise with his friends, and then give the ambassadors their answer. But Popilius, according to his ordinary blunt manner of speech, which he had by nature, made a circle about the king with a rod which he held in his hand, willing him to make him such an answer as he might report to the senate before he moved out of that circle. The king, astonished at this so rude and violent a commandment, after he had staid and paused a while, I will be content (quoth he) to do whatsoever the senate shall ordain. Then Popilius gave unto the king his hand, as to a friend and ally of the Romans.

Thus Antiochus departed out of Egypt without any good issue of his costly expedition, even in such manner as Daniel had prophesied long before²⁴ ; yea, fulfilling every particular circumstance, both of returning, and of doing mischief to Jerusalem after his return ; like as if these things had rather been historified than foretold by the prophet. As for the Roman ambassadors, they staid a while, and settled the kingdom of Egypt, leaving it unto the elder brother, and appointing the younger to reign over Cyrene. This done, they departed towards Cyprus, which they left, as it had been, in the

24 Dan c. 11. v. 29, 30, &c.

power of the Egyptian, having first sent away Antiochus's fleet, which had already given an overthrow to the Egyptian ships.

SECT. XII.

How the Romans were dreadful to all kings. Their demeanour towards Eumenes, Prusias, Masinissa, and Cotys. The end of Perseus and his children. The instability of kingly estates. The triumphs of Paulus, Anicius, and Octavius. With the conclusion of the work.

By this peremptory demeanour of Popilius in doing his message, and by the ready obedience of king Antiochus to the will of the senate, we may perceive how terrible the Romans were grown through their conquest of Macedon. The same Popilius had been well contented a year before this to lay aside the roughness of his natural condition, and to give good language to the Achæans and Ætolians, when he went ambassador to those people of Greece that were of far less power than king Antiochus. Likewise, Antiochus had with good words, and no more than good words, dismissed other ambassadors which came from Rome, in such sort as they complained not, much less used any menacing terms, though he performed nothing of their request. But now the case was altered. So found other kings as well as Antiochus.

Eumenes sent to Rome his brother Attalus to gratulate the victory over Perseus, and to crave help or countenance of the senate against the Gallo-Greeks, which molested him. Very welcome was Attalus, and lovingly entertained by most of the senators; who bade him be confident, and request

of the senate his brother's kingdom for himself, for it should surely be given him. These hopeful promises tickled Attalus with such ambition, that he either approved or seemed to approve the motion. But his honest nature was soon reclaimed by the faithful counsel of Stratius a physician, whom Eumenes had sent to Rome of purpose to keep his brother upright. So when he came into the senate, he delivered the errand about which he had been sent, recounting his own services done to the Romans in the late war¹, wherewithal he forgot not to make of his brother as good mention as he could; and finally requested that the towns of Ænus and Maronea might be bestowed upon himself. By his omitting to sue for his brother's kingdom, the senate conceived an opinion that he meant to crave another day of audience for that business alone². Wherefore, to make him understand how gracious he was, they not only granted all his desire, but in the presents which they gave to him (as was their custom to ambassadors that came with an acceptable message) they used singular magnificence. Nevertheless, Attalus took no notice of their meaning, but went his way, contented with what they had already granted³. This did so highly displease the senate, that whilst he was yet in Italy they gave order for the liberty of Ænus and Maronea, thereby making ineffectual their promise, which otherwise they could not without shame revoke. And as for the Gallo-Greeks, which were about to invade the kingdom of Pergamus, they sent ambassadors to them, with such instructions as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpose. The displeasure of the senate being so manifest, Eumenes thought it worthy of his labour to make another voyage to Rome. He might well blame the folly of his second voyage thither for this neces-

¹ Liv. lib. 45.² Polyb. legat. 93.³ Polyb. b. i. id.

sity of the third, since, by his malice to Perseus, he had laid open unto these ambitious potentates the way to his own doors. No sooner was he come into Italy, than the senate was ready to send him going. It was not thought expedient to use him as an enemy that came to visit them in love; neither could they in so doing have avoided the note of singular inconstancy; and to entertain him as a friend, was more than their hatred to him for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would permit. Wherefore they made a decree that no king should be suffered to come to Rome, and by virtue thereof sent him home without expense of much farther compliment.

Prusias king of Bithynia had been at Rome somewhat before, where he was welcomed after a better fashion. He had learned to behave himself as humbly as the proud Romans could expect or desire. For entering into the senate, he lay down and kissed the threshold, calling the *fathers* his gods and saviours; as also he used to wear a cap, after the manner of slaves newly manumised, professing himself an enfranchised bondman of the people of Rome. He was indeed naturally a slave, and one that by such abject flattery kept himself safe; though doing otherwise greater mischief than any wherewith Perseus had been charged. His errand was, besides matter of compliment, to commend unto the senate the care of his son Nicomedes, whom he brought with him to Rome, there to receive education. Further petition he made, to have some towns added to his kingdom; whereto, because the grant would have been unjust, he received a cold answer. But concerning the wardship of his son, it was undertaken by the senate; which, vaunting of the pleasure lately done to Egypt in freeing it from Antiochus, willed him thereby to consider what effectual protection the Romans gave unto

the children of kings that were to their commended.

But above all other kings, Masinissa credit with the Romans good. His quarrels endless with the Carthaginians; which friendship of the Romans to him the more. In all controversies they gave judgment and whereas he had invaded the country, holding the lands, but unable to win the Romans (though at first they could not find text whereby to countenance him in his invasion) compelled finally the Carthaginians to let go all their hold, and to pay five talents to the Numidian for having hindered his due so long. Now indeed had Rome sure to devise upon the ruin of Carthage which, the race of Masinissa himself by them rooted up. But hereof the old king dreamed. He sent to Rome one of his sons to congratulate the victory over Perseus, and to come thither himself, there to sacrifice to Jupiter in the capitol. His good will was accepted, his son rewarded, and he was to stay at home.

Cotys, the Thracian, sent ambassadors to himself touching the aid by him given for that the Macedonian had him bound and to entreat that his son, which was taken with the children of Perseus, might be set at a convenient ransom. His excuse was not that he had voluntarily obliged himself to giving hostages without necessity; yet that he had given back to him ransom-free, with advice to carry himself better toward the Romans following. His kingdom lay between Macedonia and some barbarous nations; in which respect it was good to hold him in fair terms.

As for those unhappy kings, Perseus :

they were led through Rome, with their children and friends, in the triumphs of Æmilius and Anicius. Perseus had often made suit to Æmilius, that he might not be put to such disgrace ; but he still received one scornful answer, that it lay in his own power to prevent it ; whereby was meant, that he might kill himself. And surely, had he not hoped for greater mercy than he found, he would rather have sought his death in Macedon, than have been beholden to the courtesy of his insolent enemies for a wretched life. The issue of the Roman clemency, whereof Æmilius had given him hope, was no better than this :—After that he and his fellow king had been led in chains through the streets, before the chariots of their triumphing victors, they were committed to prison, wherein they remained without hope of release. It was the manner, that when the triumpher turned his chariot up towards the capitol, there to do sacrifice, he should command the captives to be had away to prison, and there put to death ; so as the honour of the vanquisher, and misery of those that were overcome, might be both together at the utmost. This last sentence of death was remitted unto Perseus ; yet so, that he had little joy of his life, but either famished himself, or (for it is diversly reported) was kept watching perforce by those that had him in custody ; and so died for want of sleep. Of his sons two died, it is uncertain how. The youngest, called Alexander (only in name like unto the Great, though destined sometimes perhaps by his father unto the fortunes of the great,) became a joiner, or turner, or, at his best preferment, a scribe under the Roman officers. In such poverty ended the royal house of Macedon ; and it ended on the sudden, though some eight-score years after the death of that monarch unto whose ambition this whole earth seemed too narrow.

If Perseus had known it before, that his own son should be compelled to earn his living by handy-work, in a painful occupation, it is like he would not, in a wantonness of sovereignty, have commanded those men to be slain which had recovered his treasures out of the sea, by their skill in the feat of diving. He would rather have been very gentle, and would have considered, that the greatest oppressors, and the most undertrodden wretches, are all subject unto the one high Power, governing all alike with absolute command. But such is our unhappiness; instead of that blessed counsel, *Do as ye would be done unto*,—a sentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicity,—we entertain that arrogant thought, *I will be like to the Most High*; that is, I will do what shall please myself. One hath said truly,

————— Et qui nolunt occidere quenquam,
 Posse volunt ⁴ —————

Even they that have no murd'rous will,
 Would have it in their power to kill.

All, or the most, have a vain desire of ability to do evil without controul; which is a dangerous temptation unto the performance. God, who best can judge what is expedient, hath granted such power to very few; among whom, also, very few there are that use it not to their own hurt. For who sees not that a prince, by racking his sovereign authority to the utmost extent, enableth (besides the danger to his own person) some one of his own sons or nephews to root up all his progeny? Shall not many excellent princes, notwithstanding their brotherhood, or other nearness in blood, be driven to flatter the wife, the minion, or perhaps the harlot, that governs one, the most unworthy of his whole house, yet reign-

⁴ Juvenal, Sat. x.

ing ever all? The untimely death of many princes, which could not humble themselves to such flattery, and the common practice of the Turkish emperors, to murder all their brethren, without expecting till they offend, are too good proofs hereof. Hereto may be added, that the heir of the same Roger Mortimer, who murdered most traitorously and barbarously king Edward the Second, was, by reason of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, heir-apparent to the crown of England; which had he obtained, then had all the power of Edward fallen into the race of his mortal enemy, to exercise the same upon the line of that unhappy king. Such examples of the instability whereto all mortal affairs are subject, as they teach moderation, and admonish the transitory gods of kingdoms not to authorise, by wicked precedents, the evil that may fall on their own posterity,—so do they necessarily make us understand how happy that country is which hath obtained a king able to conceive and teach, ‘That
 ‘God is the sorest and sharpest schoolmaster that
 ‘can be devised, for such kings as think this world
 ‘ordained for them, without controllment to turn it
 ‘upside down at their pleasure.’

Now, concerning the triumph of L. Æmilius Paulus, it was in all points like unto that of T. Quintus Flaminus, though far more glorious, in regard of the king’s own person, that was led along therein, as part of his own spoils, and in regard likewise both of the conquest and of the booty⁵. So great was the quantity of gold and silver carried by Paulus into the Roman treasury, that from thenceforth, until the civil war which followed upon the death of Julius Cæsar, the estate had no need to burthen itself with any tribute. Yet was this noble triumph likely to have been hindered by the soldiers, who grudged at their general for not having dealt more bountifully with

⁵ The true Law of free Monarchies.

⁶ Chap. iii. Sect. iv.

them. But the princes of the senate overruled the people and soldiers herein, and brought them to reason by severe exhortations. Thus Paulus enjoyed as much honour of his victory as men could give. Nevertheless it pleased God to take away from him his two remaining sons, that were not given in adoption; of which the one died five days before the triumph, the other three days after it. This loss he bore wisely, and told the people, that he hoped to see the commonwealth flourish in a continuance of prosperity, since the joy of his victory was requited with his own private calamity instead of the public.

About the same time Octavius, the admiral, who had brought Perseus out of Samothrace, and Anicius, the prætor, who had conquered Illyria, and taken king Gentius prisoner, made their several triumphs. The glory of which magnificent spectacles, together with the confluence of embassages from all parts, and kings either visiting the imperial city, or offering to visit her, and do their duties in person, were enough to say unto Rome,—*Sume superbiam*; Take upon thee the majesty which thy deserts have purchased.

By this which we have already set down, is seen the beginning and end of the three first monarchies of the world; whereof the founders and erectors thought that they could never have ended. That of Rome, which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We have left it flourishing in the middle of the field; having rooted up, or cut down, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the storms of ambition shall beat her great boughs and branches one against another; her leaves shall fall off; her limbs wither; and a rabble of barbarous nations enter the field, and cut her down.

Now these great kings and conquering nations have been the subject of those ancient histories which have been preserved, and yet remain among us ; and withal of so many tragical poets as, in the persons of powerful princes, and other mighty men, have complained against infidelity, time, destiny ; and, most of all, against the variable success of worldly things, and instability of fortune. To these undertakings, these great lords of the world have been stirred up, rather by the desire of fame, which plougheth up the air, and soweth in the wind, than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it so much vexation and so many cares : and that this is true, the good advice of Cyneas to Pyrrhus proves. And, certainly, as fame hath often been dangerous to the living, so is it to the dead of no use at all ; because separate from knowledge. Which, were it otherwise, and the extreme ill bargain of buying this last discourse understood by them which were dissolved, they themselves would then rather have wished to have stolen out of the world without noise, than to be put in mind that they have purchased the report of their actions in the world by rapine, oppression, and cruelty ; by giving in spoil the innocent and labouring soul to the idle and insolent ; and by having emptied the cities of their ancient inhabitants, and filled them again with so many and so variable sorts of sorrows.

Since the fall of the Roman empire, (omitting that of the Germans, which had neither greatness nor continuance,) there hath been no state fearful in the east but that of the Turk ; nor in the west any prince that hath spread his wings far over his nest, but the Spaniard ; who, since the time that Ferdinand expelled the Moors out of Granada, have made many attempts to make themselves masters of all Europe. And it is true, that, by the treasures of both Indies, and by the many kingdoms which they possess in

Europe, they are at this day the most powerful: But as the Turk is now counterpoised by the Persian, so instead of so many millions as have been spent by the English, French, and Netherlands in a defensive war, and in diversions against them, it is easy to demonstrate, that, with the charge of two hundred thousand pounds, continued but for two years or three at the most, they may not only be persuaded to live in peace, but all their swelling and overflowing streams may be brought back into their natural channels and old banks. These two nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent and to be regarded; the one seeking to root out the Christian religion altogether,—the other the truth and sincere profession thereof; the one to join all Europe to Asia,—the other the rest of all Europe to Spain.

For the rest, if we seek a reason of the succession and continuance of this boundless ambition in mortal men, we may add to that which hath been already said,—That the kings and princes of the world have always hid before them the actions, but not the ends of those great ones which preceded them. They are always transported with the glory of the one, but they never mind the misery of the other, till they find the experience in themselves. They neglect the advice of God, while they enjoy life; or hope it; but they follow the counsel of Death upon his first approach. It is he that puts into man all the wisdom of the world, without speaking a word; which God with all the words of his law, promises or threats, doth not infuse. Death, which hateth and destroyeth man, is believed,—God, which hath made him and loves him, is always deferred. ‘I have considered,’ (saith Solomon,) ‘all the works that are under the sun, and behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit;’—but who believes it till Death tells it us. It was Death which, opening the conscience of Charles V. made him enjoin his son Philip to re-

store Navarre; and king Francis I. of France, to command that justice should be done upon the murderers of the protestants in Merindol and Gabriens, which till then he neglected. It is therefore Death alone that can suddenly make man to know himself. He tells the proud and insolent that they are but objects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them cry, complain, and repent; yea, even to hate their fore-past happiness. He takes the account of the rich, and proves him a beggar,—a naked beggar, which hath interest in nothing but in the grave that fills his mouth. He holds a glass before the eyes of the most beautiful, and makes them see therein their deformity and rottenness; and they acknowledge it. O eloquent, just, and mighty Death! whom none could advise, thou hast persuaded; what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised;—thou hast drawn together all the far-stretched greatness, all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with these two narrow words, *Hic jacet*.

Lastly, Whereas this book, by the title it hath, calls itself the First Part of the General History of the World, implying a second and third volume, which I also intended, and have hewn out;—besides many other discouragements persuading my silence, it hath pleased God to take that glorious Prince out of the world, to whom they were directed; whose unspeakable and never enough lamented loss, hath taught me to say with Job, ‘Versa est in luctum cithara mea, et organum meum in vocem fletuum.’

VOYAGES TO GUIANA.

VOL. VI.

BB

THE
DISCOVERY
OF
THE LARGE, RICH, AND BEAUTIFUL
EMPIRE OF GUIANA :

With a Relation of the great and golden City of MANOA, which the Spaniards call EL DORADO, and the Provinces o' EMERIA, ARROMAIA, AMAPAIA, and other Countries, with their Rivers adjoining.

Performed in the year 1595, by Sir WALTER RALEGH, Knight, Captain of her Majesty's Guard, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and Lieutenant-General of the County of Cornwall.

Printed at London, by Robert Robinson, 1596:

THE DISCOVERY OF GULANA.

THE *Discovery of Guiana* was published in 1596, within a few months after Raleigh's return from his first voyage to that famous region. This singular performance has been reprinted in many collections both English and foreign. Howes, in his edition of Stow's Annals, published in 1631, informs us, that it had before that time been translated into various languages; and he particularly mentions 'the exquisite Latin translation*,' published in 1599 by Theodore de Bry, in the Eighth Part of his celebrated Collection of Voyages to America. Meusel, in his *Bibliotheca Historica*†, a work esteemed for valuable notices of this sort, mentions another Latin translation, published at Nuremberg in the same year, under the following title: 'Brevis et admiranda, descriptio regni Guianæ, auri abundantissimi, in America seu novo orbe, sub linea æquinoctialia siti: quod nuper per generosum D. D. Gualther Raleigh detectum est: Norib. impensis Levini Hulsii, 1599.' It however appears from the learned work which Camus has lately published upon De Bry's Collection; that this latter piece is only a selection of the more marvellous passages of Raleigh's Narrative, accompanied with a few appropriate engravings‡.

This piece has some striking passages, but it is written upon the whole with little regard to method or coherence; and indeed Raleigh himself tells us, in his *epistle dedicatory*, that 'he had studied neither phrase, form, nor fashion, in its composition.' As to Guiana, all that he says of its general aspect, the luxuriant beauty of some of its situations, and its wonderful fruitfulness, seems exactly to correspond with the accounts of succeeding observers; and, notwithstanding his belief in *El Dorado*, and other traits of credulity, it is impossible to peruse his narrative without respect for that sagacity which, in an age but little skilled in such views, could so clearly discern the advantages which England might derive from establishing colonies upon the banks of the Orinoco.

* Stow's Annals, p. 1019.

† Meusel, tom. 8. p. 284.

‡ Memoire sur les Collect. de Voyages des De Bry et de Thevenot, par Camus, Memb. de l'Inst. National, p. 98.

EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

To the Right Hon. my singular good Lord and Kinsman
CHARLES HOWARD, Knight of the Garter, Baron and
Counsellor, and of the Admirals of England the most
renowned: And to the Right Honourable Sir ROBERT
CECIL, Knight, Counsellor in her Highness's Privy-
Councils

FOR your Honour's many honourable and friendly parts, I have hitherto only returned promises; and now, for answer of both your adventures, I have sent you a bundle of papers, which I have divided between your Lordship and Sir Robert Cecil, in these two respects chiefly: First, for that it is reason that wasteful factors, when they have consumed such stocks as they had in trust, do yield some colour for the same in their account: Secondly, for that I am assured that whatsoever shall be done or written by me, shall need a double protection and defence. The trial that I had of both your loves, when I was left of all but of malice and revenge, makes me still presume that you will be pleased (knowing what little power I had to perform ought, and the great advantage of forewarned enemies) to answer that out of knowledge which others shall but object out of malice. In my more happy times, as I did especially honour you both, so I found that your loves sought me out in the darkest shadow of adversity, and that the same affection which accompanied my better fortune, soared not away from me in my many miseries; all which, though I cannot requite, yet I shall ever acknowledge; and the great debt, which I have no power to pay, I can do no more, for a time, but confess to be due. It is true, that as my errors were great, so they have yielded very grievous effects; and if ought might have been deserved in former times to have counterpoised any part of offences, the fruit thereof (as it seemeth) was long before fallen from the tree, and the dead stock only remained. I did, therefore, even in the winter of my life, undertake these travels, fitter for bodies less blasted with misfortunes, for men of greater ability, and for minds of better encouragement; that thereby, if it were possible, I might recover but the moderation of excess, and the least taste of the greatest plenty formerly possessed. If I had known other way to win, if I had imagined how greater adventure

EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

might have regained, if I could conceive what farther means I might yet use but even to appease so powerful a displeasure, I would not doubt but for one year more to hold fast my soul in my teeth till it were performed. Of that little remain I had, I have wasted, in effect, all herein; I have undergone many constructions; I have been accompanied with many sorrows,—with labour, hunger, heat, sickness, and peril. It appeareth, notwithstanding, that I made no other bravado of going to the sea than was meant, and that I was neither hidden in Cornwall, or elsewhere, as was supposed. They have grossly belied me, that fore-judged that I would rather become a servant to the Spanish king than return; and the rest were much mistaken who would have persuaded that I was too easeful and sensual to undertake a journey of so great travel. But if what I have done receive the gracious construction of a painful pilgrimage, and purchase the least remission, I shall think all too little, and that there were wanting to the rest many miseries: But if both the times past, the present, and what may be in the future, do all, by one grain of gall, continue in an eternal distaste, I do not then know whether I should bewail myself either for my too much travel and expence, or condemn myself for doing that which can deserve nothing. From myself I have deserved no thanks, for I am returned a beggar, and withered; but that I might have bettered my poor estate, it shall appear by the following discourse, if I had not only respected her Majesty's future honour and riches. It became not the former fortune in which I once lived, to go journies of Picory; and it had sorted ill with the offices of honour which by her Majesty's grace I hold this day in England, to run from cape to cape, and from place to place, for the pillage of ordinary prizes. Many years since, I had knowledge, by relation, of that mighty, rich, and beautiful empire of Guiana, and of that great and golden city which the Spaniards call El Dorado, and the naturals Manoa; which city was conquered, re-edified, and enlarged by a younger son of Guainacapa, emperor of Peru, at such time as Francisco Pizarro and others conquered the said empire from his two elder brethren, Huascar and Atabalipa: both then contended for the same, the one being favoured by the Orciones of Cuzco, the other by the people of Caximalca. I sent my servant Jacob Whiddon the year before to get knowledge of the passages, and I had some light from Captain Parker, sometime my servant, and now attending on your Lordship, that such a

place there was to the southward of the great bay of Charuas, or Guanipa ; but I found that it was six hundred miles farther off than they supposed, and many other impediments to them unknown and unheard. After I had displanted Don Antonio de Berreo, who was upon the same enterprise, leaving my ships at Trinidad, at the port called Curiapan, I wandered four hundred miles into the said country by land and river ; the particulars I will leave to the following Discourse. The country hath more quantity of gold by manifold than the best parts of the Indies or Peru ; all or most of the kings of the borders are already become her Majesty's vassals, and seem to desire nothing more than her Majesty's protection, and the return of the English nation. It hath another ground and assurance of riches and glory than the voyages of the West-Indies, and an easier way to invade the best parts thereof than by the common course. The king of Spain is not so impoverished by taking two or three port-towns in America as we suppose ; neither are the riches of Peru, or Neuva Espania, so left by the sea-side as it can be easily washed away with a great flood, or spring-tide, or left dry upon the sands on a low ebb. The port-towns are few and poor in respect of the rest within the land, and are of little defence, and are only rich when the fleets are to receive the treasure for Spain ; and we might think the Spaniards very simple, having so many horses and slaves, that if they could not upon two days warning carry all the gold they have into the land, and far enough from the reach of our footmen, especially the Indies being (as it is for the most part) so mountainous, so full of woods, rivers, and marshes. In the port-towns of the province of Venezuela, as Cumana, Coro, and St Jago (whereof Coro and St Jago were taken by Captain Preston, and Cumana and St Josephus by us,) we found not the value of one rial of plate in either ; but the cities of Barquisimeta, Valentia, S Sebastian, Cororo, S. Lucia, Alleguna, Marecabo, and Truxillo, are not so easily invaded ; neither doth the burning of those on the coast impoverish the King of Spain any one ducat : and if we sack the river of Hache, S. Marta, and Carthagena, which are the ports of Nuevo Reyno and Popayan, there are besides within the land, which are indeed rich and populous, the towns and cities of Merida, Lagrita, S. Christophero, the great cities of Pampelona, St Fe de Bogota, Tunia, and Mozo, where the emeralds are found ; the towns and cities of Moriquito, Velis, la Villa de Leua, Palma, Unda, Angustura, the great city of Timana. Tociama, S. Aguila,

Pasto, Juago, the great city of Popayan itself, Los Remedios, and the rest. If we take the ports and villages within the bay of Uraba, in the kingdom or rivers of Dariena, and Caribana,—the cities and towns of S. Juan de Roydas, of Cassaris, of Antiocha, Caramanta, Cali, and Auserma, have gold enough to pay the king part, and are not easily invaded by the way of the ocean: or if Nombre de Dios and Panama be taken, in the province of Castillo de Oro, and the villages upon the rivers of Cenu and Chagre, Peru hath besides these, and besides the magnificent cities of Quito and Lima, so many islands, ports, cities, and mines, as if I should name them with the rest it would seem incredible to the reader: of all which, because I have written a particular treatise of the West-Indies, I will omit their repetition at this time, seeing that in the said treatise I have anatomised the rest of the sea-towns, as well of Nicaragua, Jucata, Nueva Espania, and the islands, as those of the inland, and by what means they may be best invaded, as far as my mean judgment can comprehend. But I hope it shall appear that there is a way found to answer every man's longing, a better Indies for her Majesty than the king of Spain hath any; which if it shall please her Highness to undertake, I shall most willingly end the rest of my days in following the same. If it be left to the spoil and sackage of common persons, if the love and service of so many nations be despised, so great riches, and so mighty an empire refused, I hope her Majesty will yet take my humble desire, and my labour therein, in gracious part, which if it had not been in respect of her Highness's future honour and riches, I could have laid hands and ransomed many of the kings and Caciques of the country, and have had a reasonable proportion of gold for their redemption; but I have chosen rather to bear the burden of poverty than reproach, and rather to endure a second travel, and the chances thereof, than to have defaced an enterprize of so great assurance, until I knew whether it pleased God to put a disposition in her princely and royal heart either to follow or to foreslow the same. I will rather leave it to his ordinance that hath only power in all things, and do humbly pray that your Honours will excuse such errors as, without the defence of art, over-run in every part the following discourse, in which I have neither studied phrase, form, nor fashion; and that you will be pleased to esteem me as your own, (though over dearly bought,) and I shall ever remain ready to do you all honour and service.

W. R.

TO THE READER.

BECAUSE there have been divers opinions conceived of the gold ore brought from Guiana, and for that an alderman of London, and an officer of her Majesty's mint, hath given out that the same is of no price, I have thought good, by the addition of these lines, to give answer as well to the said malicious slander as to other objections. It is true, that while we abode at the island of Trinidad, I was informed by an Indian, that not far from the port where we anchored, there were found certain mineral stones which they esteemed to be gold, and were thereunto persuaded the rather for that they had seen both English and Frenchmen gather and embark some quantities thereof. Upon this likelihood I sent forty men, and gave order that each one should bring a stone of that mine, to make trial of the goodness; which being performed, I assured them at their return, that the same was marcasite, and of no riches or value. Notwithstanding, divers, trusting more to their own than to my opinion, kept of the said marcasite, and have tried thereof, since my return, in divers places. In Guiana itself I never saw marcasite; but all the rocks, mountains, all stones in the plains, in woods, and by the rivers sides, are, in effect, thorough shining, and appear marvellous rich; which being tried to be no marcasite, are the true signs of rich minerals, but are no other than *el madre del oro*, (as the Spaniards term them,) which is the mother of gold, or, as it is said by others, the scum of gold. Of divers sorts of these many of my company brought also into England, every one taking the fairest for the best, which is not general. For mine own part, I did not countermand any man's desire or opinion; and I could have afforded them little, if I should have denied them the pleasing of their own fancies therein; but I was resolved that gold must be found, either in grains separate from the stone, (as it is in most of all the rivers in Guiana,) or else in a kind of hard stone, which we call the white spar, of which I saw divers hills, and in sundry places, but had neither time, nor men, nor instruments fit to labour. Near unto one of

the rivers I found of the said white spar or flint, a very great ledge or bank, which I endeavoured to break by all the means I could, because there appeared on the outside some small grains of gold ; but finding no means to work the same upon the upper part, seeking the sides and circuit of the said rock, I found a clift in the same, from whence, with daggers and with the head of an axe, we got out some small quantity thereof, of which kind of white stone, (wherein gold is engendered,) we saw divers hills and rocks in every part of Guiana wherein we travelled. Of this there hath been made many trials ; and in London it was first assayed by Mr Westwood, a refiner dwelling in Wood-street, and it held after the rate of twelve thousand or thirteen thousand pounds a ton. Another sort was afterwards tried by Mr Bulmar and Mr Dimoke, assaymasters, and it held after the rate of twenty-three thousand pounds a ton. There was some of it again tried by Mr Palmer, comptroller of the mint, and Mr Dimoke, in Goldsmith's Hall, and it held after the rate of twenty-six thousand nine hundred pounds a ton. There was also at the same time, and by the same persons, a trial made of the dust of the said mine, which held eight pounds six ounces weight of gold in the hundred. There was likewise at the sametime a trial made of an image of copper made in Guiana, which held a third part gold, besides divers trials made in the country, and by others in London. But because there came of ill with the good, and belike the said alderman was not presented with the best, it hath pleased him therefore to scandal all the rest, and to deface the enterprise as much as in him lieth. It hath also been concluded by divers, that if there had been any such ore in Guiana, and the same discovered, that I would have brought home a greater quantity thereof. First, I was not bound to satisfy any man of the quantity, but such only as adventured, if any store had been returned thereof ; but it is very true, that had all their mountains been of massy gold, it was impossible for us to have made any longer stay to have wrought the same ; and whosoever hath seen with what strength of stone the best gold ore is environed, he will not think it easy to be had out in heaps, and especially by us, who had neither men, instruments, nor time, (as it is said before,) to perform the same. There were on this discovery no less than one hundred persons, who can all witness, that when we passed any branch of the river to view the land within, and staid from our boats but six hours, we were driven to Wade to the eyes at our re-

turn; and if we attempted the same the day following, it was impossible either to ford it or to swim it, both by reason of the swiftness, and also for that the borders were so pestered with fast woods, as neither boat nor man could find place either to land or to embark: for in June, July, August, and September, it is impossible to navigate any of those rivers; for such is the fury of the current, and there are so many trees and woods overflown, as if any boat but touch upon any tree or stake, it is impossible to save any one person therein; and, ere we departed that land, it ran with that swiftness as we drove down, most commonly against the wind, little less than one hundred miles a-day. Besides, our vessels were no other than wherries, one little barge, a small cock-boat, and a bad galliota, which we frained in haste for that purpose at Trinidad; and those little boats had nine or ten men a-piece, with all their victuals and arms. It is further true, that we were about four hundred miles from our ships, and had been a month from them, which also we left weakly manned in an open road, and had promised our return in fifteen days. Others have devised, that the same ore was had from Barbary, and that we carried it with us into Guiana. Surely the singularity of that device I do not well comprehend; for mine own part, I am not so much in love with these long voyages, as to devise thereby to cozen myself, to lie hard, to fare worse, to be subjected to perils, to diseases, to ill savours, to be parched and withered, and withal to sustain the care and labour of such an enterprise, except the same had more comfort than the fetching of marcasite in Guiana, or buying of gold ore in Barbary. But I hope the better sort will judge me by themselves, and that the way of deceit is not the way of honour or good opinion. I have herein consumed much time and many crowns, and I had no other respect or desire than to serve her Majesty and my country thereby. If the Spanish nation had been of like belief to these detractors, we should little have feared or doubted their attempts, wherewith we are now daily threatened. But if we now consider of the actions both of Charles V. who had the maidenhead of Peru, and the abundant treasures of Atabalipa,—together with the affairs of the Spanish king now living, what territories he hath purchased, what he hath added to the acts of his predecessors, how many kingdoms he hath endangered, how many armies, garrisons, and navies he hath and doth maintain, the great losses which he repaired,—as in eighty-eight above one hundred sail of great ships,

with their artillery, and that no year is less unfortunate but that many vessels, treasures, and people are devoured; and yet, notwithstanding, he beginneth again, like a storm, to threaten shipwreck to us all; we shall find that these abilities rise, not from the trades of sacks and Seville oranges, nor from aught else that either Spain, Portugal, or any of his other provinces produce;—it is his Indian gold that endangereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe;—it purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into councils, and setteth bound loyalty at liberty in the greatest monarchies of Europe. If the Spanish king can keep us from foreign enterprises, and from the impeachment of his trades, either by offer of invasion, or by besieging us in Britain, Ireland, or elsewhere, he hath then brought the work of our peril in great forwardness. Those princes which abound in treasure, have great advantage over the rest, if they once constrain them to a defensive war, where they are driven once a-year, or oftener, to cast lots for their own garments; and from such shall all trades and intercourse be taken away, to the general loss and impoverishment of the kingdom and commonweal so reduced. Besides, when men are constrained to fight, it hath not the same hope as when they are pressed and encouraged by the desire of spoil and riches. Farther, it is to be doubted how those that in time of victory seem to affect their neighbouring nations, will remain after the first view of misfortunes or ill success; to trust also to the doubtfulness of a battle, is but a fearful and uncertain adventure, seeing therein fortune is as likely to prevail as virtue. It shall not be necessary to allege all that might be said, and therefore I will thus conclude,—That whatsoever kingdom shall be enforced to defend itself, may be compared to a body dangerously diseased, which for a season may be preserved with vulgar medicines; but in a short time, and by little and little, the same must needs fall to the ground and be dissolved. I have therefore laboured all my life, both according to my small power and persuasion, to advance all those attempts that might either promise return or profit to ourselves, or at least be a let or impeachment to the quiet course and plentiful trades of the Spanish nation, who, in my weak judgment, by such a war were as easily endangered and brought from his powerfulness as any prince in Europe; if it be considered from how many kingdoms and nations his revenues are gathered, and those so weak in their own beings, and so far severed from mutual succour. But because such a preparation and re-

solution is not to be hoped for in haste, and that the time which our enemies embrace cannot be had again to advantage, I will hope that these provinces and that empire now by me discovered, shall suffice to enable her Majesty, and the whole kingdom, with no less quantities of treasure than that the King of Spain hath in all the Indies, East and West, which he possesseth; which, if the same be considered and followed, ere the Spaniards reinforce the same, and if her Majesty will undertake it, I will be contented to lose her Highness's favour and good opinion for ever, and my life withal, if the same be not found rather to exceed than to equal whatsoever is in this discourse promised or declared. I will now refer the reader to the following discourse, with the hope that the perilous and chargeable labours and endeavours of such as thereby seek the profit and honour of her Majesty and the English nation, shall, by men of quality and virtue, receive such construction and good acceptance, as themselves would look to be rewarded withal in the like.

W. R.

THE
DISCOVERY OF GUIANA.

ON Thursday the sixth of February, in the year 1595, we departed England, and the Sunday following had sight of the north cape of Spain, the wind for the most part continuing prosperous. We passed in sight of the Burlings and the Rock, and so onwards for the Canaries; and fell in with Fuerte Ventura the seventeenth of the same month, where we spent two or three days, and relieved our companies with some fresh meat. From thence we coasted by the Gran Canaria, and so to Teneriffe, and staid there for the Lion's Whelp, your lordship's ship, and for Captain Amias Preston, and the rest. But when, after seven or eight days, we found them not, we departed, and directed our course for Trinidad with mine own ship, and a small bark of Captain Cross's only, (for we had before lost sight of a small gallego on the coast of Spain, which came with us from Plymouth.) We arrived at Trinidad the twenty-second of March, casting anchor at Point Curiapan, which the Spaniards call Punto de Gallo, which is situate in eight degrees, or thereabouts. We abode there four or five days; and in all that time we came not to the speech of any Indian or Spaniard. On the coast we saw a fire, as we sailed

from the point Carao towards Curiapan ; but, for fear of the Spaniards, none durst come to speak with us. I myself coasted it in my barge close aboard the shore, and landed in every cove, the better to know the island, while the ships kept the channel. From Curiapan, after a few days, we turned up north-east, to recover that place which the Spaniards call Puerto de los Hispanioles, and the inhabitants Conquerabia ; and as before (re-victualling my barge) I left the ships and kept by the shore, the better to come to speech with some of the inhabitants, and also to understand the rivers, watering-places, and ports of the island, which (as it is rudely done) my purpose is to send your lordship after a few days. From Curiapan, I came to a port and seat of Indians called Parico, where we found a fresh-water river, but saw no people. From thence I rowed to another port, called by the naturals Piche, and by the Spaniards Tierra de Brea. In the way between both were divers little brooks of fresh water, and one salt river, that had store of oysters upon the branches of the trees, and were very salt and well-tasted. All their oysters grow upon those boughs and sprays, and not on the ground ; the like is commonly seen in the West Indies, and elsewhere. This tree is described by Andrew Thevet, in his *France Antartique* ; and the form figured in his book, as a plant very strange ; and by Pliny, in his twelfth book of his *Natural History* ; but in this island, as also in Guiana, there are very many of them.

At this point, called Tierra de Brea, or Piche, there is that abundance of stone-pitch, that all the ships of the world may be therewith laden from thence ; and we made trial of it in trimming our ships to be most excellent good, and melteth not with the sun as the pitch of Norway, and therefore, for ships trading to the south parts, very profitable. From thence we went to the mountain foot called Annaperima ; and so passing the river Carone, on

which the Spanish city was seated, we met with our ships at Puerto de los Hispanioles, or Conquerabia.

This island of Trinidad hath the form of a sheep-hook, and is but narrow. The north part is very mountainous; the soil is very excellent, and will bear sugar, ginger, or any other commodity that the Indies yield. It hath store of deer, wild porks, fruits, fish, and fowl. It hath also for bread, sufficient maize, cassavi, and of those roots and fruits which are common everywhere in the West Indies. It hath divers beasts, which the Indies have not. The Spaniards confessed that they found grains of gold in some of the rivers; but they having a purpose to enter Guiana, (the magazine of all rich metals,) cared not to spend time in the search thereof any farther. This island is called by the people thereof Cairi, and in it are divers nations; those about Parico are called Iaio, those at Punto Carao are of the Arwacas, and between Carao and Curiapan they are called Salvaios; between Carao and Punto Galera are the Neipoios, and those about the Spanish city term themselves Carinepagotos. Of the rest of the nations, and of other ports and rivers, I leave to speak here, being impertinent to my purpose, and mean to describe them as they are situate in the particular plot and description of the island, three parts whereof I coasted with my barge, that I might the better describe it.

Meeting with the ships at Puerto de los Hispanioles, we found at the landing-place a company of Spaniards, who kept a guard at the descent; and they offering a sign of peace, I sent Captain Whiddon to speak with them; whom afterward, to my great grief, I left buried in the said island, after my return from Guiana, being a man most honest and valiant. The Spaniards seemed to be desirous to trade with us, and to enter into terms of peace, more for doubt of their own strength than for ought else; and in the end, upon pledge, some of them came aboard. The

same evening there stole aboard us, in a small canoe, two Indians; the one of them being a Cacique, or lord of people, called Cantyman, who had the year before been with Captain Whiddon, and was of his acquaintance. By this Cantyman, we understood what strength the Spaniards had,—how far it was to their city,—and of Don Antonio de Berreo, the governor, who was said to be slain in his second attempt of Guiana, but was not.

While we remained at Puerto de los Hispanioles, some Spaniards came aboard us to buy linen of the company, and such other things as they wanted, and also to view our ships and company,—all which I entertained kindly, and feasted after our manner: by means whereof, I learned of one and another as much of the estate of Guiana as I could, or as they knew; for those poor soldiers, having been many years without wine, a few draughts made them merrry; in which mood they vaunted of Guiana, and of the riches thereof, and all what they knew of the ways and passages, myself seeming to purpose nothing less than the entrance or discovery thereof, but bred in them an opinion that I was bound only for the relief of those English which I had planted in Virginia, whereof the bruit was come among them; which I had performed in my return, if extremity of weather had not forced me from the said coast.

I found occasions of staying in this place for two causes; the one was to be revenged of Berreo, who, the year before, betrayed eight of Captain Whiddon's men, and took them, while he departed from them to seek the E. Bonaventure, which arrived at Trinidad the day before from the East Indies; in whose absence Berreo sent a canoe aboard the pinnace, only with Indians and dogs, inviting the company to go with them into the woods to kill a deer, who like wise men, in the absence of their captain, followed the Indians; but were no sooner one harquebuss-

shot from the shore, but Berreo's soldiers, lying in ambush, had them all, notwithstanding that he had given his word to Captain Whiddon that they should take water and wood safely. The other cause of my stay was, for that, by discourse with the Spaniards, I daily learnt more and more of Guiana,—of the rivers and passages,—and of the enterprise of Berreo,—by what means or fault he failed,—and how he meant to prosecute the same.

While we thus spent the time, I was assured by another Cacique of the north side of the island, that Berreo had sent to Marguerita, and to Cumana, for soldiers, meaning to have given me a *cassado* at parting, if it had been possible. For although he had given order through all the island, that no Indian should come aboard to trade with me upon pain of hanging or quartering, (having executed two of them for the same, which I afterwards found), yet every night there came some, with most lamentable complaints of his cruelty ;—how he had divided the island, and given to every soldier a part ; that he made the ancient Caciques, which were lords of the country, to be their slaves ; that he kept them in chains, and dropped their naked bodies with burning bacon, and such other torments, which I found afterwards to be true. For in the city, after I entered the same, there were five of the lords, or little kings (which they call Caciques in the West Indies), in one chain, almost dead of famine, and wasted with torments. These are called, in their own language, *Acarewana*; and now of late, since English, French, and Spanish are come among them, they call themselves *Capitains*, because they perceive that the chiefest of every ship is called by that name. Those five captains in the chain were called Wannawanare, Caroaori, Maquarima, Tarroopanama, and Aterima. So as both to be revenged of the former wrong, as also considering that to enter Guiana by small boats, to depart four or five hundred miles from my ships, and

to leave a garrison in my back interested in the same enterprise, who also daily expected supplies out of Spain, I should have savoured very much of the ass; and therefore, taking a time of most advantage, I set upon the *corps du guard* in the evening, and having put them to the sword, sent Captain Galfield onward with sixty soldiers, and myself followed with forty more, and so took their new city, which they called S. Joseph, by break of day. They abode not any fight after a few shot; and all being dismissed but only Berreo and his companion, I brought them with me aboard; and, at the instance of the Indians, I set their new city of S. Joseph on fire.

The same day arrived Captain George Gifford with your lordship's ship, and Captain Keymis, whom I lost on the coast of Spain, with the gallego, and in them divers gentlemen and others, which to our little army was a great comfort and supply.

We then hastened away towards our purposed discovery; and first I called all the captains of the island together that were enemies to the Spaniards; (for there were some which Berreo had brought out of other countries and planted there to eat out and waste those that were natural of the place;) and by my Indian interpreter, which I carried out of England, I made them understand that I was the servant of a queen who was the great Cacique of the North, and a virgin, and had more Caciques under her than there were trees in their island; that she was an enemy to the Castellans, in respect of their tyranny and oppression; and that she delivered all such nations about her as were by them oppressed; and having freed all the coast of the northern world from their servitude, had sent me to free them also, and withal to defend the country of Guiana from their invasion and conquest. I shewed them her Majesty's picture, which they so admired and honoured, as it had been easy to have brought them idolatrous thereof.

The like, and a more large discourse I made to the rest of the nations, both in passing to Guiana and to those of the borders; so as in that part of the world her Majesty is very famous and admirable, whom they now call *Exrabeta Cassipuna Aquerewana*, which is as much as, Elizabeth the great princess, or great commander. This done, we left Puerto de los Hispanioles, and returned to Curiapan; and having Berreo my prisoner, I gathered from him as much of Guiana as he knew.

This Berreo is a gentleman well descended, and had long served the Spanish king in Milan, Naples, the low countries, and elsewhere, very valiant and liberal, and a gentleman of great assuredness, and of a great heart. I used him according to his estate and worth in all things I could, according to the small means I had.

I sent Captain Whiddon the year before to get what knowledge he could of Guiana; and the end of my journey, at this time, was to discover and enter the same; but my intelligence was far from truth, for the country is situate above six hundred English miles further from the sea than I was made to believe it had been; which afterwards understanding to be true by Berreo, I kept it from the knowledge of my company, who else would never have been brought to attempt the same; of which six hundred miles I passed four hundred, leaving my ships so far from me at anchor in the sea, which was more of desire to perform that discovery, than of reason, especially having such poor and weak vessels to transport ourselves in: for in the bottom of an old gallego, which I caused to be fashioned like a galley, and in one barge, two wherries, and a ship-boat of the Lion's Whelp, we carried one hundred persons, and their victuals for a month in the same; being all driven to lie in the rain and weather, in the open air, in the burning sun, and upon the hard boards, and to dress our meat, and to carry all manner of furniture in

them; wherewith they were so pestered and unsavory, that what with victuals, being most fish, with the wet clothes of so many men thrust together, and the heat of the sun, I will undertake there was never any prison in England that could be found more unsavory and loathsome, especially to myself, who had for many years before been dieted and cared for in sort far differing.

If Captain Preston had not been persuaded that he should have come too late to Trinidad to have found us there, (for the month was expired which I promised to tarry for him there, ere he could recover the coast of Spain,) but that it had pleased God he might have joined with us, and that we had entered the country but some ten days sooner, ere the rivers were overflowed, we had adventured either to have gone to the great city of Manoa, or at least taken so many of the other cities and towns nearer at hand, as would have made a royal return; but it pleased not God so much to favour me at this time. If it shall be my lot to prosecute the same, I shall willingly spend my life therein; and if any else shall be enabled thereunto, and conquer the same, I assure him thus much,—he shall perform more than ever was done in Mexico by Cortes, or in Peru by Pizarro, whereof the one conquered the empire of Montezuma, the other of Huascar and Atabalipa; and whatsoever prince shall possess it, that prince shall be lord of more gold, and of a more beautiful empire, and of more cities and people, than either the king of Spain or the Great Turk.

But because there may arise many doubts, and how this empire of Guiana is become so populous, and adorned with so many great cities, towns, temples, and treasures, I thought good to make it known that the emperor now reigning is descended from those magnificent princes of Peru, of whose large territories,—of whose policies, conquests, edifices, and riches, Pedro de Cieça, Francisco Lopez, and

others, have written large discourses. For when Francisco Pizarro, Diego Almagro, and others, conquered the said empire of Peru, and had put to death Atabalipa, son to Guaynacapa, (which Atabalipa had formerly caused his eldest brother Huascar to be slain,) one of the younger sons of Guaynacapa fled out of Peru, and took with him many thousands of those soldiers of the empire called Oreiones; and with those, and many others that followed him, he vanquished all that tract and valley of America which is situate between the great rivers of the Amazons and Baraquan, otherwise called Orinoco and Marannon.

The empire of Guiana is directly east from Peru towards the sea, and lieth under the equinoctial line; and it hath more abundance of gold than any part of Peru, and as many, or more great cities than ever Peru had when it flourished most. It is governed by the same laws, and the emperor and people observe the same religion, and the same form and policies in government as was used in Peru, not differing in any part; and as I have been assured by such of the Spaniards as have seen Manoa, the imperial city of Guiana, which the Spaniards call *el Dorado*, that for the greatness, the riches, and for the excellent seat, it far exceedeth any of the world, at least of so much of the world as is known to the Spanish nation. It is founded upon a lake of salt-water of two hundred leagues long, like unto Mare Caspium; and if we compare it to that of Peru, and but read the report of Francisco Lopez, and others, it will seem more than credible; and because we may judge of the one by the other, I thought good to insert a part of the one hundred and twentieth chapter of Lopez, in his General History of the Indies, wherein he describeth the court and magnificence of Guaynacapa, ancestor to the emperor of Guiana, whose very words are these:—‘ Todo el servicio de su casa, mesa, y coquina era de oro, y de plata, y quando menos de plata, y cobre por mas rezio. Tenia en su recamara esta-

‘tuas huetas de oro que parecian gigantes, y las fi-
 ‘guras al propio, y tamano de quantos animales,
 ‘aves, arboles, y yervas produze la tierra, y de quan-
 ‘tos peces cria la mar y aguas de sus reynos. Tenia
 ‘assi mesmo sogas, costales, cestas, y troxes de oro
 ‘y plata, rimeros de palos de oro, que pareciesen
 ‘lenna raiada para quemar. En fin, no avia cosa en
 ‘su tierra, que no la tuviese de oro contrahecha; y
 ‘aun dizen, que tenian los Ingas un vergel en una
 ‘Ista cerca de la Puna, donde se yvan a holgar,
 ‘quando querian mar, que tenia la ortaliza, las flores,
 ‘yarboles de oro y plata, invencion y grandeza hasta
 ‘entonces nunca vista. Allende de todo esto tenia
 ‘infinitissimia cantidad de plata, y oro por labrar en
 ‘el Cuzco, que se perdio por la muerte de Guascar,
 ‘ca los Indios lo escondieron viendo que los Espa-
 ‘nioles se lo tomauan, y embiauan a Espania.’ That
 is,—‘All the vessels of his house, table, and kitchen,
 were of gold and silver, and the meanest of silver
 and copper, for strength and hardness of the metal.
 He had in his wardrobe hollow statues of gold,
 which seemed giants, and the figures in proportion
 and bigness of all the beasts, birds, trees, and herbs
 which the earth bringeth forth, and of all the fishes
 that the sea or waters of his kingdom breedeth. He
 had also ropes, budgets, chests, and troughs of gold
 and silver, heaps of billets of gold, that seemed wood
 marked out to burn. Finally, there was nothing in
 his country whereof he had not the counterfeit in
 gold. Yea, and they say, the Incas had a garden of
 pleasure in an island near Puna, where they went to
 recreate themselves when they would take the air of
 the sea, which had all kind of garden herbs, flowers,
 and trees, of gold and silver, an invention, and mag-
 nificence, till then never seen. Besides all this, he
 had an infinite quantity of silver and gold unwrought
 in Cuzco, which was lost by the death of Huascar; for
 the Indians hid it, seeing that the Spaniards took it
 and sent it into Spain.’

And in the hundred and seventeenth chapter,—Francisco Pizarro caused the gold and silver of Atabalipa to be weighed, after he had taken it, which Lopez setteth down in these words following:—
‘Hallaron cinquenta y dos mil marcos de buena
‘plata, y un millon y trezientos y veinte y seys mil,
‘y quinientos pesos de oro.’ Which is—They found fifty-two thousand marks of good silver, and one million three hundred twenty and six thousand and five hundred pesoes of gold.

Now although these reports may seem strange, yet if we consider the many millions which are daily brought out of Peru into Spain, we may easily believe the same; for we find, that by the abundant treasure of that country, the Spanish king vexeth all the princes of Europe; and is become, in a few years, from a poor king of Castile, the greatest monarch of this part of the world, and likely every day to increase, if other princes foreslow the good occasion offered, and suffer him to add this empire to the rest, which by far exceedeth all the rest: if his gold now endanger us, he will then be irresistible. Such of the Spaniards as afterward endeavoured the conquest thereof, (whereof there have been many, as shall be declared hereafter,) thought that this Inca (of whom this emperor now living is descended) took his way by the river of Amazons, by that branch which is called Papamene; for by that way followed Orellano, (by the commandment of the Marquis Pizarro in the year fifteen hundred and forty-two,) whose name the river also beareth this day; which is also by others called Marannon, although Andrew Thevet doth affirm, that between Marannon and Amazons there are one hundred and twenty leagues; but sure it is, that these rivers have one head and beginning, and that Marannon, which Thevet describeth, is but a branch of Amazons, or Orellano, of which I will speak more in another place. It was also attempted by Diego Ordas, but

whether before Orellano, or after, I know not : but it is now little less than seventy years since that Ordas, a knight of the order of St Jago, attempted the same ; and it was in the year fifteen hundred and forty-two that Orellano discovered the river of Amazons ; but the first that ever saw Manoa was Johannes Martines, master of the munition to Ordas. At a port called Morequito in Guiana there lieth, at this day, a great anchor of Ordas's ship ; and this port is some three hundred miles within the land, upon the great river of Orinoco.

I rested at this port four days, twenty days after I left the ships at Curiapan. The relation of this Martines, (who was the first that discovered Manoa,) his success, and end, is to be seen in the chancery of St Juan de Puerto Rico, whereof Berreo had a copy, which appeared to be the greatest encouragement, as well to Berreo as to others that formerly attempted the discovery and conquest. Orellano, after he failed of the discovery of Guiana by the said river of Amazons, passed into Spain, and there obtained a patent of the king for the invasion and conquest, but died by sea about the islands, and his fleet being severed by tempest, the action for that time proceeded not. Diego Ordas followed the enterprize, and departed Spain with six hundred soldiers, and thirty horse, who arriving on the coasts of Guiana, was slain in a mutiny, with the most part of such as favoured him, as also of the rebellious part, insomuch as his ships perished, and few or none returned ; neither was it certainly known what became of the said Ordas, until Berreo found the anchor of his ship in the river of Orinoco ; but it was supposed, and so it is written by Lopez, that he perished on the seas, and of other writers diversly conceived and reported. And hereof it came that Martines entered so far within the land, and arrived at that city of Inca the emperor ; for it chanced, that while Ordas with his army rested at the port of

Morequito, (who was either the first or second that attempted Guiana,) by some negligence, the whole store of powder provided for the service was set on fire, and Martines, having the chief charge, was condemned by the general Ordas to be executed forthwith. Martines, being much favoured by the soldiers, had all the means possible procured for his life, but it could not be obtained in other sort than this,--That he should be set into a canoe alone, without any victuals, only with his arms, and so turned loose into the great river. But it pleased God that the canoe was carried down the stream, and that certain of the Guianians met it the same evening, and having not at any time seen any Christian, nor any man of that colour, they carried Martines into the land to be wondered at, and so from town to town, until he came to the great city of Manoa, the seat and residence of Inca the emperor. The emperor, after he had beheld him, knew him to be a Christian, (for it was not long before that his brethren, Huascar and Atabalipa, were vanquished by the Spaniards in Peru,) and caused him to be lodged in his palace, and well entertained. He lived seven months in Manoa, but not suffered to wander into the country any where; he was also brought thither all the way blindfold, led by the Indians, until he came to the entrance of Manoa itself, and was fourteen or fifteen days in the passage. He avowed at his death, that he entered the city at noon, and then they uncovered his face, and that he travelled all that day, till night, through the city, and the next day from sun-rising to sun-setting, ere he came to the palace of Inca. After that Martines had lived seven months in Manoa, and begun to understand the language of the country, Inca asked him whether he desired to return into his own country, or would willingly abide with him; but Martines, not desirous to stay, obtained the favour of Inca to depart, with whom he sent divers Guianians to conduct him to the river

of Orinoco, all loaden with as much gold as they could carry, which he gave to Martines at his departure; but when he was arrived near the river's side, the borderers, which are called Oroonokoponi, robbed him and his Guianians of all the treasure, (the borderers being at that time at war with Inca, and not conquered,) save only of two great bottles of gourds, which were filled with beads of gold curiously wrought, which those Oroonokoponi thought had been no other thing than his drink, or meat, or grain for food, with which Martines had liberty to pass; and so in canoes he fell down by the river of Orinoco to Trinidad, and from thence to Marguerita, and so to St Juan de Puerto Rico, where remaining a long time for a passage into Spain, he died. In the time of his extreme sickness, and when he was without hope of life, receiving the sacrament at the hands of his confessor, he delivered these things, with the relation of his travels; and also called for his *calabaza*, or gourds of the gold beads, which he gave to the church and friars to be prayed for.

This Martines was he that christened the city of Manoa by the name of *El Dorado*, and, as Berreo informed me, upon this occasion. Those Guianians, and also the borderers, and all others in that traet which I have seen, are marvellous great drunkards, in which vice I think no nation can compare with them; and at the times of their solemn feasts, when the emperor carouseth with his captains, tributaries, and governors, the manner is thus: All those that pledge him are first stripped naked, and their bodies anointed all over with a kind of white balsamum, by them called *curcai*, of which there is great plenty, and yet very dear amongst them, and it is of all other the most precious, whereof we have had good experience. When they are anointed all over, certain servants of the emperor, having prepared gold made into fine powder, blow it through hollow canes upon their naked bodies; until they be all shining from the foot to

the head ; and in this sort they sit drinking by twenties and hundreds, and continue in drunkenness sometimes six or seven days together. The same is also confirmed by a letter written into Spain, which was intercepted, which Master Robert Dudley told me he had seen. Upon this sight, and for the abundance of gold which he saw in the city, the images of gold in their temples, the plates, armours, and shields of gold which they use in the wars, he called it *El Dorado*.

After Orellano, who was employed by Pizarro, afterwards Marquis Pizarro, conqueror and governor of Peru, and the death of Ordas and Martines, one Pedro de Orsua, a knight of Navarre, attempted Guiana, taking his way from Peru, and built his brigantines upon a river called Oia, which riseth to the southward of Quito, and is very great. This river falleth into Amazons, by which Orsua with his companies descended, and came out of that province which is called Mutylones : and it seemeth to me, that this empire is reserved for her majesty and the English nation, by reason of the hard success which all these and other Spaniards found in attempting the same, whereof I will speak briefly, though impertinent, in some sort, to my purpose. This Pedro de Orsua had among his troops a Biscayan called Aguirre, a man meanly born, and bore no other office than a serjeant, or *alferez* ; but after certain months, when the soldiers were grieved with travels, and consumed with famine, and that no entrance could be found by the branches or body of Amazons, this Aguirre raised a mutiny, of which he made himself the head, and so prevailed, as he put Orsua to the sword, and all his followers ; taking on him the whole charge and commandment, with a purpose not only to make himself emperor of Guiana, but also of Peru, and of all that side of the West Indies. He had of his party seven hundred soldiers, and of those, many promised to draw in other captains and companies to deliver up towns and forts in

Peru ; but neither finding by the said river any passage into Guiana, nor any possibility to return towards Peru by the same Amazons, by reason that the descent of the river made so great a current, he was enforced to disembogue at the mouth of the said Amazons, which cannot be less than a thousand leagues from the place where they embarked : from thence he coasted the land till he arrived at Marguerita, to the north of Monpatar, which is at this day called Puerto de Tyranno, for that he there slew Don Juan de Villa Andreda, governor of Marguerita, who was father to Don Juan Sermiento, governor of Marguerita when Sir John Burgh landed there, and attempted the island. Aguirre put to the sword all others in the island that refused to be of his party, and took with him certain *Ceremones*, and other desperate companions. From thence he went to Cumana, and there slew the governor, and dealt in all as at Marguerita ; he spoiled all the coast of Caracas, and the province of Venezuela, and of Rio de Hache ; and, as I remember, it was the same year that Sir John Hawkins sailed to St Juan de Lua, in the *Jesus of Lubeck* ; for himself told me, that he met with such a one upon the coast that rebelled, and had sailed down all the river of Amazons. Aguirre, from hence, landed about Sancta Marta, and sacked it also, putting to death so many as refused to be his followers, purposing to invade Nuevo Reyno de Granada, and to sack Pampelone, Merida, Lagrita, Tuvia, and the rest of the cities of Nuevo Reyno, and from thence again to enter Peru ; but in a fight in the said Nuevo Reyno he was overthrown, and finding no way to escape, he first put to the sword his own children ; foretelling them that they should not live to be defamed, or upbraided by the Spaniards after his death, who would have termed them the children of a traitor or tyrant, and that since he could not make them princes, he would yet deliver them from shame and reproach. These were

the ends and tragedies of Orellano, Ordas, Orsua, Martines, and Aguirre.

After these followed Jeronimo Ortal de Saragosa with one hundred and thirty soldiers, who failing his entrance by sea, was cast with the current on the coast of Paria, and peopled about S. Miguel de Neu-eri. It was then attempted by Don Pedro de Sylva, a Portuguese of the family of Rigomes de Sylva, and by the favour which Rigomes had with the king he was set out; but he also shot wide of the mark; for being departed from Spain with his fleet, he entered by Marannon or Amazons, where, by the nations of the river, and by the Amazons, he was utterly overthrown, and himself and all his army defeated; only seven escaped, and of those but two returned.

After him came Pedro Hernandez de Serpa, and landed at Cumana in the West Indies, taking his journey by land towards Orinoco, which may be some hundred and twenty leagues; but ere he came to the borders of the said river, he was set upon by a nation of Indians called Wikiri, and overthrown in such sort, that of three hundred soldiers, horsemen, many Indians and Negroes, there returned but eighteen. Others affirm that he was defeated in the very entrance of Guiana, at the first civil town of the empire, called Macureguarai. Captain Preston, in taking S. Jago de Leon, (which was by him and his companies very resolutely performed, being a great town, and far within the land,) held a gentleman prisoner, who died in his ship, that was one of the company of Hernandez de Serpa; and saved among those that escaped, who witnessed what opinion is held among the Spaniards thereabouts of the great riches of Guiana, and El Dorado, the city of Inca. Another Spaniard was brought aboard me by captain Preston, who told me in the hearing of himself and divers other gentlemen, that he met with Berreo's camp-master at Caraccas, when he came from the borders of Guiana, and that he saw with him

forty of most pure plates of gold curiously wrought, and swords of Guiana decked and inlaid with gold, feathers garnished with gold, and divers rarities which he carried to the Spanish king.

After Hernandez de Serpa, it was undertaken by the Adelantado, Don Gonzalo Ximenes de Quesada, who was one of the chiefest in the conquest of Nuevo Reyno; whose daughter and heir Don Antonio de Berreo married. Gonzalo sought the passage also by the river called Papamene, which riseth by Quito in Peru, and runneth south-east one hundred leagues, and then falleth into the Amazonas; but he also failing the entrance, returned with the loss of much labour and cost: I took one captain George, a Spaniard, that followed Gonzalo in this enterprize. Gonzalo gave his daughter to Berreo, taking his oath and honour to follow the enterprize to the last of his substance and life; who since, as he hath sworn to me, hath spent three hundred thousand ducats in the same, and yet never could enter so far into the land as myself, with that poor troop, or rather handful of men, being in all about one hundred gentlemen, soldiers, rowers, boat-keepers, boys, and of all sorts: neither could any of the forepassed undertakers, nor Berreo himself, discover the country, till now lately, by conference with an ancient king called Carapana, he got the true light thereof; for Berreo came above fifteen hundred miles ere he understood ought, or could find any passage or entrance into any part thereof; yet he had experience of all these forenamed, and divers others, and was persuaded of their errors and mistakings. Berreo sought it by the river Cassanar, which falleth into a great river called Pato; Pato falleth into Meta, and Meta into Baraquan, which is also called Orinoco.

He took his journey from Nuevo Reyno de Granada, where he dwelt, having the inheritance of Gonzalo Ximenes in those parts. He was followed with seven hundred horse; he drove with him a

thousand head of cattle ; he had also many women, Indians, and slaves. How all these rivers cross and encounter ; how the country lieth, and is bordered ; the passage of Ximenes, and of Berreo ; mine own discovery, and the way that I entered, with all the rest of the nations and rivers,—your lordship shall receive in a large chart, or map, which I have not yet finished, and which I shall most humbly pray your lordship to secret, and not to suffer it to pass your own hands ; for by a draught thereof all may be prevented by other nations. For I know it is this very year sought by the French, although by the way that they now take I fear it not much. It was also told me ere I departed England, that Villiers the admiral was in preparation for the planting of Amazons, to which river the French have made divers voyages, and returned much gold and other rarities. I spoke with a captain of a French ship that came from thence, his ship riding in Falmouth, the same year that my ships came first from Virginia.

There was another this year in Helford that also came from thence, and had been fourteen months at an anchor in Amazons, which were both very rich. Although, as I am persuaded, Guiana cannot be entered that way, yet no doubt the trade of gold from thence passeth by branches of rivers into the river of Amazons, and so it doth on every hand far from the country itself : for those Indians of Trinidad have plates of gold from Guiana, and those cannibals of Dominica, which dwell in the islands by which our ships pass yearly to the West Indies ; also the Indians of Paria ; those Indians called Tucaris, Chochi, Apotomios, Cumanagotos, and all those other nations inhabiting near about the mountains that run from Paria through the province of Venezuela, and in Maracapaná ; and the cannibals of Guanipa, the Indians called Assawai, Coaca, Aiai, and the rest, (all which shall be described in my description as they are situate,) have plates of gold of Guiana. And upon

the river of Amazons, Thevet writeth, that the people wear crescents of gold; for of that form the Guianians most commonly make them. So as from Dominica to Amazons, which is above two hundred and fifty leagues, all the chief Indians in all parts wear of those plates of Guiana. Undoubtedly those that trade with the Amazons return much gold, which (as is aforesaid) cometh by trade from Guiana, by some branch of a river that falleth from the country into Amazons; and either it is by the river which passeth by the nations called Tisnados, or by Carepuna.

I made inquiry amongst the most ancient and best travelled of the Orenoqueponi, and I had knowledge of all the rivers between Orinoco and Amazons, and was very desirous to understand the truth of those warlike women, because of some it is believed, of others not. And though I digress from my purpose, yet I will set down what hath been delivered me for truth of those women; and I spoke with a Cacique, or lord of the people, that told me he had been in the river, and beyond it also. The nations of these women are on the south side of the river, in the provinces of Topago, and their chiefest strengths and retreats are in the islands situate on the south side of the entrance, some sixty leagues within the mouth of the said river. The memories of the like women are very ancient as well in Africa as in Asia. In Africa, those that had Medusa for queen; others in Scythia, near the rivers of Tanais and Thermadon. We find also, that Lampedo and Marthesia were queens of the Amazons. In many histories they are verified to have been, and in divers ages and provinces. But they which are not far from Guiana do accompany with men but once in a year, and for the time of one month, which I gather by their relation to be in April. At that time all the kings of the borders assemble, and the queens of the Amazons; and after the queens have chosen, the rest cast lots for their valentines. This one month

they feast, dance, and drink of their wines in abundance ; and the moon being down, they all depart to their own provinces. If they conceive, and be delivered of a son, they return him to the father ; if of a daughter, they nourish it and retain it ; and as many as have daughters send unto the begetters a present, all being desirous to increase their own sex and kind ; but that they cut off the right dug of the breast I do not find to be true. It was farther told me, that if in the wars they took any prisoners, that they used to accompany with those also at what time soever, but in the end, for certain, they put them to death ; for they are said to be very cruel and bloodthirsty, especially to such as offer to invade their territories. These Amazons have likewise great store of these plates of gold, which they recover by exchange, chiefly for a kind of green stones, which the Spaniards call *pedras hijados*, and we use for spleen stones, and for the disease of the stone we also esteem them. Of these I saw divers in Guiana ; and commonly every king, or cacique, hath one, which their wives for the most part wear, and they esteem them as great jewels.

But, to return to the enterprise of Berreo, (who (as I have said,) departed from Nuevo Reyno with seven hundred horse, besides the provisions above rehearsed. He descended by the river Cassanar, which riseth in Nuevo Reyno, out of the mountains by the city of Tuvia ; from which mountain also springeth Pato, both which fall into the great river of Meta ; and Meta riseth from a mountain joining to Pampelone, in the same Nuevo Reyno de Granada. These, as also Guaire, which issueth out of the mountains by Timana, fall all into Baraquan, and are but of his heads ; for at their coming together they loose their names ; and Baraquan, farther down, is also rebaptized by the name of Orinoco. On the other side of the city and hills of Timana riseth Rio Grande, which falleth into the sea by Sancta Marta.

By Cassanar first, and so into Meta, Berreo passed; keeping his horsemen on the banks, where the country served them for to march, and where otherwise he was driven to embark them in boats, which he builded for the purpose, and so came with the current down the river of Meta, and so into Baraquan. After he entered that great and mighty river, he began to loose of his companies both men and horse; for it is in many places violently swift, and hath forcible eddies, many sands, and divers islands, sharp-pointed with rocks. But after one whole year, journeying for the most part by river, and the rest by land, he grew daily to fewer numbers; for both by sickness, and by encountering with the people of those regions through which he travelled, his companies were much wasted; especially by divers encounters with the Amapaiens. And in all this time he never could learn of any passage into Guiana, nor any news or fame thereof, until he came to the farther border of the said Amapaia, eight days journey from the river Caroli, which was the farthest river that we entered. Among those of Amapaia, Guiana was famous; but few of these people accosted Berreo, or would trade with him the first three months of the six which he sojourned there. This Amapaia is also marvellous rich in gold, (as both Berreo confessed and those of Guiana, with whom I had most conference,) and is situate upon Orinoco also. In this country Berreo lost sixty of his best soldiers, and most of all his horse that remained of his former year's travel. But in the end, after divers encounters with those nations, they grew to peace, and they presented Berreo with ten images of fine gold among divers other plates and crescents, which, as he swore to me, and divers other gentlemen, were so curiously wrought, as he had not seen the like either in Italy, Spain, or the Low Countries; and he was assured, that when they came to the hands of the Spanish king, to whom he had sent

them by his camp-master, they would appear very admirable; especially being wrought by such a nation as had no iron instrument at all, nor any of those helps which our goldsmiths have to work withal. The particular name of the people in Amapaia which gave him these pieces are called Anebas; and the river of Orinoco at that place is above twelve English miles broad, which may be from his outfall into the sea seven or eight hundred miles.

This province of Amapaia is a very low and a marshy ground near the river, and by reason of the red water, which issueth out in small branches through the fenny and boggy ground, there breed divers poisonous worms and serpents; and the Spaniards, not suspecting, nor in any sort foreknowing the danger, were infected with a grievous kind of flux by drinking thereof, and even the very horses were poisoned therewith; insomuch as at the end of the six months that they abode there, of all their troops there were not left above one hundred and twenty soldiers, and neither horse nor cattle. For Berreo hoped to have found Guiana by one thousand miles nearer than it fell out to be in the end; by means whereof they sustained much want and much hunger, oppressed with grievous diseases, and all the miseries that could be imagined. I demanded of those in Guiana that had travelled Amapaia, how they lived with that tawny or red water when they travelled thither; and they told me, that after the sun was near the middle of the sky, they used to fill their pots and pitchers with that water; but either before that time, or towards the setting of the sun, it was dangerous to drink of, and in the night strong poison. I learned also of divers other rivers of that nature among them, which were also (while the sun was in the meridian) very safe to drink, and in the morning, evening, and night, wonderful dangerous and infective. From this province Berreo hasted away as soon as the spring and beginning of summer

appeared, and sought his entrance on the borders of Orinoco on the south side ; but there ran a ledge of so high and impassable mountains, as he was not able by any means to march over them, continuing from the east sea, into which Orinoco falleth, even to Quito in Peru. Neither had he means to carry victuals or munition over those craggy, high, and vast hills, being all woody, and those so thick and spiny, and so full of prickles, thorns, and briers, as it is impossible to creep through them. He had also neither friendship among the people, nor any interpreter to persuade or treat with them ; and, more to his disadvantage, the cacique and kings of Amapaia had given knowledge of his purpose to the Guianians, and that he sought to sack and conquer the empire, for the hope of their so great abundance and quantities of gold. He passed by the mouths of many great rivers, which fell into Orinoco both from the north and south, which I forbear to name for tediousness, and because they are more pleasing in describing than reading.

Berreio affirmed, that there fell an hundred rivers into Orinoco from the north and south, whereof the least was as big as Rio Grande, that passeth between Popayan and Nuevo Reyno de Granada ; (Rio Grande being esteemed one of the most renowned rivers in all the West Indies, and numbered among the great rivers of the world) ; but he knew not the names of any of these but Caroli only, neither from what provinces they descended, neither to what provinces they led, for he had no means to discourse with the inhabitants at any time. Neither was he curious in these things, being utterly unlearned, and not knowing the east from the west. But of all these I got some knowledge, and of many more, partly by mine own travel, and the rest by conference. Of some one I learned one, of others the rest, having with me an Indian that spoke many languages, and that of Guiana naturally. I sought out all the aged

men, and such as were greatest travellers, and by the one and the other I came to understand the situations, the rivers, the kingdoms from the east sea to the borders of Peru; and from Orinoco southward as far as Amazons or Marannon; and the regions of Maria Tamball, and of all the kings of provinces, and captains of towns and villages, how they stood in times of peace or war, and which were friends or enemies the one with the other, without which there can be neither entrance nor conquest in those parts nor elsewhere: for by the dissension between Huascar and Atabalipa, Pizarro conquered Peru; and by the hatred that the Tlascalians bore to Montezuma, Cortez was victorious over Mexico; without which both the one and the other had failed of their enterprise, and of the great honour and riches which they attained unto.

Now Berreo began to grow into despair, and looked for no other success than his predecessors in this enterprise, until such time as he arrived at the province of Emeria towards the East-sea and mouth of the river, where he found a nation of people very favourable, and the country full of all manner of victuals. The king of this land is called Carapana; a man very wise, subtle, and of great experience, being little less than a hundred years old. In his youth, he was sent by his father into the island of Trinidad, by reason of civil war among themselves, and was bred at a village in that island called Parico. At that place, in his youth, he had seen many Christians, both French and Spanish, and went divers times with the Indians of Trinidad to Marguerita and Cumana in the West Indies; (for both those places have ever been relieved with victual from Trinidad); by reason whereof he grew of more understanding, and noted the difference of the nations, comparing the strength and armies of his country with those of the Christians, and ever after temporized so, as whosoever else did amiss, or was wasted by contention,

Carapana kept himself and his country in quiet and plenty. He also held peace with the Caribas, or Cannibals, his neighbours, and had free trade with all nations, whosoever else had war.

Berreio sojourned and rested his weak troop in the town of Carapana six weeks, and from him learned the way and passage to Guiana, and the riches and magnificence thereof; but being then utterly unable to proceed, he determined to try his fortune another year, when he had renewed his provisions, and regathered more force; which he hoped for, as well out of Spain as from Nuevo Reyno, where he had left his son Don Antonio Ximenes to second him upon the first notice given of his entrance; and so for the present embarked himself in canoes, and by the branches of the Orinoco arrived at Trinidad, having from Carapana sufficient pilots to conduct him. From Trinidad he coasted to Paria, and so recovered Marguerita; and having made relation to Don Juan Sermiento the governor, of his proceeding, and persuaded him of the riches of Guiana, he obtained from thence fifty soldiers, promising presently to return to Carapana, and so into Guiana. But Berreio meant nothing less at that time, for he wanted many provisions necessary for such an enterprise; and therefore departing from Marguerita, seated himself in Trinidad; and from thence sent his camp-master and his serjeant-major back to the borders, to discover the nearest passage into the empire, as also to treat with the borderers, and to draw them to his party and love, without which, he knew he could neither pass safely, nor in any sort be relieved with victuals, or ought else. Carapana directed this company to a king called Morequito, assuring them that no man could deliver so much of Guiana as Morequito could, and that his dwelling was but five days journey from Macureguari, the first civil town of Guiana.

Now your lordship shall understand that this Morequito, one of the greatest lords or kings of the bor-

ders of Guiana, had two or three years before been at Cumana and at Marguerita in the West Indies, with great store of plates of gold, which he carried to exchange for such other things as he wanted in his own country, and was daily feasted and presented by the governors of those places and held amongst them some two months; in which time one Vides, governor of Cumana won him to be his conductor into Guiana, being allured by those crescents and images of gold which he brought with him to trade, as also by the ancient fame and magnificence of El Dorado. Whereupon Vides sent into Spain for a patent to discover and conquer Guiana, not knowing of the precedence of Berreo's patent, which, as Berreo affirmeth, was signed before that of Vides; so as when Vides understood of Berreo, and that he had made entrance into that territory, and foregone his desire and hope, it was verily thought that Vides practised with Morequito to hinder and disturb Berreo in all he could, and not to suffer him to enter through his seigniory, nor any of his companies, neither to victual, nor guide them in any sort: for Vides governor of Cumana, and Berreo, were become mortal enemies, as well for that Berreo had gotten Trinidad into his patent with Guiana, as also in that he was by Berreo prevented in the journey of Guiana itself. Howsoever it was I know not; but Morequito for a time dissembled his disposition, suffered Spaniards, and a friar (which Berreo had sent to discover Manoa), to travel through his country, gave them a guide for Macureguarai, the first town of civil and appavelled people, from whence they had other guides to bring them to Manoa, the great city of Inca; and being furnished with those things which they had learned of Carapana were of most price in Guiana, went onward, and in eleven days arrived at Manoa, as Berreo affirmeth for certain; although I could not be assured thereof by the lord which now governeth the province of Morequito, for he told me

that they got all the gold they had in other towns on this side Manoa; there being many very great and rich, and (as he said) built, like the towns of Christians, with many rooms.

When these ten Spaniards were returned, and ready to put out of the border of Arromaia, the people of Morequito set upon them, and slew them all but one that swam the river, and took from them to the value of forty thousand pesos of gold; and as it is written in the story of Job, one only lived to bring the news to Berreo, that both his nine soldiers and holy father were benighted in the said province. I myself spake with the captains of Morequito that slew them, and was at the place where it was executed. Berreo, enraged herewithal, sent all the strength he could make into Arromaia, to be revenged of him, his people, and country; but Morequito, suspecting the same, fled over Orinoco, and through the territories of the Saima and Wikiri, recovered Cumana, where he thought himself very safe with Vides the governor; but Berreo sending for him in the king's name, and his messengers finding him in the house of one Fashardo on the sudden ere it was suspected, so as he could not then be conveyed away, Vides durst not deny him, as well to avoid the suspicion of the practice, as also for that an holy father was slain by him and his people. Morequito offered Fashardo the weight of three quintals in gold to let him escape, but the poor Guianian, betrayed of all sides, was delivered to the camp-master of Berreo, and was presently executed.

After the death of this Morequito, the soldiers of Berreo spoiled his territory, and took divers prisoners; among others they took the uncle of Morequito, called Topiawari, who is now king of Arromaia (whose son I brought with me into England), and is a man of great understanding and policy. He is above one hundred years old, and yet of a very able body. The Spaniards led him in a chain seventeen

days, and made him their guide from place to place between his country and Emeria, the province of Carapana aforesaid; and was at last redeemed for one hundred plates of gold, and divers stones called *piedras hyadas*, or spleen stones. Now Berreo, for executing of Morequito, and other cruelties, spoils, and slaughters done in Arromaia, hath lost the love of the Oroonokoponi, and of all the borderers; and dare not send any of his soldiers any farther into the land than to Carapana, which he calleth the port of Guiana. But from thence, by the help of Carapana, he had trade farther into the country; and always appointed ten Spaniards to reside in Carapana's town, by whose favour, and by being conducted by his people, those ten searched the country thereabouts, as well for mines as for other trades and commodities.

They have also gotten a nephew of Morequito, whom they have christened and named Don Juan, of whom they have great hope, endeavouring by all means to establish him in the said province. Among many other trades, those Spaniards used in canoes to pass to the rivers of Barema, Pawrowma, and Dissequebe, which are on the south side of the mouth of Orinoco, and there buy women and children from the Cannibals; which are of that barbarous nature, as they will for three or four hatchets sell the sons and daughters of their own brethren and sisters, and for somewhat more even their own daughters. Hereof the Spaniards make great profit; for buying a maid of twelve or thirteen years for three or four hatchets, they sell them again at Marguerita in the West Indies, for fifty and one hundred pesoes, which is so many crowns.

The master of my ship, John Douglas, took one of the canoes which came laden from thence with people to be sold, and the most of them escaped, yet of those he brought there was one as well favoured, and as well shaped, as ever I saw any in England; and afterward I saw many of them which, but for their

tawny colour, may be compared to any of Europe. They also trade in those rivers for bread of Cassavi, of which they buy an hundred pound weight for a knife, and sell it at Marguerita for ten pesos. They also recover great store of cotton, Brasil-wood, and those beds which they call Hamacas or Basil-beds; wherein in hot countries all the Spaniards use to lie commonly, and in no other neither did we ourselves while we were there. By means of which trades, for ransom of divers of the Guianians, and for exchange of hatchets and knives, Berreo recovered some store of gold plates, eagles of gold, and images of men and divers birds, and dispatched his camp-master for Spain with all that he had gathered, therewith to levy soldiers, and by the shew thereof to draw others to the love of the enterprise; and having sent divers images, as well of men as beasts, birds, and fishes, so curiously wrought in gold, doubted not but to persuade the king to yield to him some further help; especially for that this land hath never been sacked, the mines never wrought, and in the Indies their works were well spent, and the gold drawn out with great labour and charge. He also dispatched messengers to his son in Nuevo Reyno to levy all the forces he could, and to come down the river of Orinoco to Emeria, the province of Carapana, to meet him. He had also sent to St Jago de Leon, on the coast of the Caraccas, to buy horses and mules.

After I had thus learned of his proceedings past and purposed, I told him that I had resolved to see Guiana, and that it was the end of my journey, and the cause of my coming to Trinidad; as it was indeed. (And for that purpose I sent Ja. Whiddon the year before to get intelligence, with whom Berreo himself had speech at that time, and remembered how inquisitive Ja. Whiddon was of his proceedings, and of the country of Guiana). Berreo was stricken into a great melancholy and sadness, and used all the arguments

he could to dissuade me, and also assured the gentlemen of my company that it would be labour lost, and that they would suffer many miseries if they proceeded. And first he delivered that I could not enter any of the rivers with any bark or pinnace, nor hardly with any ship's boat, it was so low, sandy, and full of flats; and that his companies were daily grounded in their canoes, which drew but twelve inches water. He further said, that none of the country would come to speak with us, but would all fly, and if we followed them to their dwellings they would burn their own towns; and besides, that the way was long, the winter at hand, and that the rivers beginning once to swell, it was impossible to stem the current; and that we could not in those small boats by any means carry victual for half the time; and that (which indeed most discouraged my company) the kings and lords of all the borders of Guiana had decreed, that none of them should trade with any Christians for gold, because the same would be their own overthrow, and that for the love of gold the Christians meant to conquer and dispossess them of all together.

Many and the most of these I found to be true; but yet I resolving to make trial of all, whatsoever happened, directed Captain George Gifford, my vice-admiral, to take the Lion's Whelp, and Captain Calfield's bark, to turn to the eastward, against the breeze what they could possible, to recover the mouth of a river called Capuri, whose entrance I had before sent Captain Whiddon, and Jo. Douglas the master, to discover, who found some nine feet water or better upon the flood, and five at low water; to whom I had given instructions, that they should anchor at the edge of the shoal, and upon the best of the flood to thrust over; which shoal John Douglas buoyed and beckoned for them before. But they laboured in vain; for neither could they turn it up altogether so far to the east, neither did the flood continue so

long, but the water fell ere they could have passed the sands, as we after found by second experience ; so as now we must either give over our enterprise, or leaving our ships at adventure four hundred miles behind us, to run up in our ships boats, one barge, and two wherries : but being doubtful how to carry victuals for so long a time in such baubles, or any strength of men, especially for that Berreo assured us that his son must be by that time come down with many soldiers, I sent away onè King, master of the Lion's Whelp, with his ship's boat, to try another branch of a river in the bottom of the bay of Guanipa, which was called Amana, to prove if there was water to be found for either of the small ships to enter. But when he came to the mouth of Amana, he found it as the rest, but stayed not to discover it thoroughly, because he was assured by an Indian, his guide, that the Cannibals of Guanipa would assail them with many canoes, and that they shot poisoned arrows ; so as if he hasted not back they should all be lost.

In the meantime, fearing the worst, I caused all the carpenters we had to cut down a gallego boat, which we meant to cast off, and to fit her with banks to row on, and in all things to prepare her the best way they could, so as she might be brought to draw but five feet, for so much we had on the bar of Capuri at low water ; and doubting of King's return, I sent Jo. Douglas again in my long barge, as well to relieve him, as also to make a perfect search in the bottom of that bay. For it hath been held for infallible, that whatsoever ship or boat shall fall therein can never disembogue again, by reason of the violent current which setteth into the said bay ; as also for that the breeze and easterly wind bloweth directly into the same ; of which opinion I have heard John Hampton of Plymouth, one of the greatest experience of England, and divers others besides that have traded to Trinidad.

I sent with John Douglas an old Cacique of Trinidad for a pilot, who told us that we could not return again by the bay or gulf, but that he knew a by-branch which ran within the land to the eastward, and that he thought by it we might fall into Capuri, and so return in four days. John Douglas searched those rivers, and found four goodly entrances, whereof the least was as big as the Thames at Woolwich; but in the bay thitherward it was shoal and but six foot water; so as we were now without hope of any ship or bark to pass over, and therefore resolved to go on with the boats and the bottom of the gallego, in which we thrust sixty men: in the Lion's Whelp's boat and wherry we carried twenty. Captain Calfield in his wherry carried ten more, and in my barge other ten, which made up a hundred. We had no other means but to carry victual for a month in the same, and also to lodge therein as we could, and to boil and dress our meat. Captain Gifford had with him Mr Edward Porter, Captain Eynos, and eight more in his wherry, with all their victual, weapons, and provisions; Captain Calfield had with him my cousin Bushead Gorges, and eight more. In the galley, of gentlemen and officers myself had, Captain Thyn, my cousin John Greenville, my nephew John Gilbert, Captain Whiddon, Captain Keymis, Edward Hancoke, Captain Clarke, Lieutenant Hewes, Thomas Upton, Captain Facy, Jerome Ferrar, Anthony Wells, William Connock, and about fifty more. We could not learn of Berreo any other way to enter but in branches, so far to the windward as it was impossible for us to recover; for we had as much sea to cross over in our wherries as between Dover and Calais, and in a great billow, the wind and current being both very strong; so as we were driven to go in those small boats directly before the wind into the bottom of the bay of Guani-pa, and from thence to enter the mouth of some one of those rivers which J. Douglas had last discover-

ed ; and had with us for pilot an Indian of Barema, a river to the south of Orinoco, between that and Amazons, whose canoes we had formerly taken as he was going from the said Barema, laden with cassavi bread to sell at Marguerita. This Arwacan promised to bring me into the great river of Orinoco ; but indeed of that which we entered he was utterly ignorant, for he had not seen it in twelve years before, at which time he was very young, and of no judgment, and if God had not sent us another help, we might have wandered a whole year in that labyrinth of rivers, ere we had found any way, either out or in, especially after we were past the ebbing and flowing, which was in four days : for I know all the earth doth not yield the like confluence of streams and branches, the one crossing the other so many times, and also fair and large, and so like one to another, as no man can tell which to take ; and if we went by the sun or compass, hoping thereby to go one way or other, yet that way we were also carried in a circle amongst multitudes of islands, and every island so bordered with high trees, as no man could see any further than the breadth of the river, or length of the breach : but thus it chanced, that entering into a river, (which because it had no name, we called the river of the Red Cross, ourselves being the first Christians that ever came therein,) the 22d of May as we were rowing up the same, we espied a small canoe with three Indians, which, (by the swiftness of my barge, rowing with eight oars,) I overtook ere they could cross the river ; the rest of the people on the banks, shadowed under the thick wood, gazed on with a doubtful conceit what might befall those three which we had taken ; but when they perceived that we offered them no violence, neither entered their canoe with any of ours, nor took out of the canoe any of theirs, they then began to shew themselves on the bank's side, and offered to traffic with us for such

things as they had ; and as we drew near they all staid, and we came with our barge to the mouth of a little creek, which came from their town into the great river.

As we abode there a while, our Indian pilot, called Ferdinando, would needs go ashore to their village to fetch some fruits, and to drink of their artificial wines, and also to see the place, and to know the lord of it against another time, and took with him a brother of his which he had with him in the journey. When they came to the village of these people, the lord of the island offered to lay hands on them, purposing to have slain them both, yielding for reason, that this Indian of ours had brought a strange nation into their territory to spoil and destroy them ; but the pilot being quick, and of a disposed body, slipt their fingers, and ran into the woods, and his brother being the better footman of the two, recovered the creek's mouth, where we staid in our barge, crying out that his brother was slain ; with that we set hands on one of them that was nearest us, a very old man, and brought him into the barge, assuring him, that if we had not our pilot again, we would presently cut off his head. This old man being resolved that he should pay the loss of the other, cried out to those in the woods to save Ferdinando our pilot, but they followed him notwithstanding, and hunted after him upon the foot with their deer-dogs, and with so main a cry that all the woods echoed with the shout they made ; but at last this poor chased Indian recovered the river side, and got upon a tree, and, as we were coasting, leaped down and swam to the barge half dead with fear : but our good hap was that we kept the other old Indian, which we handfasted to redeem our pilot withal, for being natural of those rivers, we assured ourselves he knew the way better than any stranger could ; and indeed but for this chance I think we had never found the way either to Guiana or back to our ships ;

for Ferdinando, after a few days, knew nothing at all, nor which way to turn, yea, and many times the old man himself was in great doubt which river to take. Those people which dwell in these broken islands and drowned lands are generally called Tivitivas; there are of them two sorts, the one called Ciawani, and the other Waraweete.

The great river of Orinoco or Baraquan hath nine branches, which fall out on the north side of his own main mouth; on the south side it hath seven other fallings into the sea, so it disembogueth by sixteen arms in all, between islands and broken ground; but the islands are very great, many of them as big as the Isle of Wight, and bigger, and many less: from the first branch on the north, to the last of the south, it is at least a hundred leagues, so as the river's mouth is no less than three hundred miles wide at his entrance into the sea, which I take to be far bigger than that of Amazons. All those that inhabit in the mouth of this river upon the several north branches are these Tivitivas, of which there are two chief lords, which have continual wars one with the other. The islands which lie on the right hand are called Pallamos, and the land of the left are Hororotomak; and the river by which John Douglas returned within the land from Amana to Capuri, they call Macuri.

These Tivitivas are a very goodly people, and very valiant, and have the most manly speech, and most deliberate that ever I heard of what nation soever. In the summer they have houses on the ground as in other places; in the winter they dwell upon the trees, where they build very artificial towns and villages, as it is written in the Spanish story of the West Indies, that those people do in the lowlands, near the gulf of Uraba: for between May and September the river of Orinoco riseth thirty foot upright, and then are those islands overflown twenty feet high above the level of the ground, saving

some few raised grounds in the middle of them; and for this cause they are enforced to live in this manner. They never eat of any thing that is set or sown; and as at home they use neither planting nor other manurance, so when they come abroad they refuse to feed of aught but of that which nature without labour bringeth forth. They use the tops of palmitos for bread, and kill deer, fish, and porks for the rest of their sustenance; they have also many sorts of fruits that grow in the woods, and great variety of birds and fowl. And if to speak of them were not tedious and vulgar, surely we saw in those passages of very rare colours and forms, not elsewhere to be found, forasmuch as I have either seen or read. Of these people, those that dwell upon the branches of Orinoco, called Capuri and Macureo, are for the most part carpenters of canoes, for they make the most and fairest houses, and sell them into Guiana for gold, and into Trinidad for tobacco, in the excessive taking whereof they exceed all nations; and notwithstanding the moistness of the air in which they live, the hardness of their diet, and the great labours they suffer to hunt, fish, and fowl for their living, in all my life, either in the Indies or in Europe, did I ever behold a more goodly or better favoured people, or a more manly. They were wont to make war upon all people, and especially on the Cannibals, so as none durst, without a good strength, trade by those rivers; but of late they are at peace with their neighbours, all holding the Spaniards for a common enemy. When their commanders die, they use great lamentation, and when they think the flesh of their bodies is putrified, and fallen from the bones, then they take up the carcase again, and hang it in the Cacique's house that died, and deck his skull with feathers of all colours, and hang all his gold plates about the bones of his arms, thighs, and legs. Those nations which are called Arwacas, which dwell on

the south of Orinoco, (of which place and nation our Indian pilot was,) are dispersed in many other places, and do use to beat the bones of their lords into powder, and their wives and friends drink it all in their several sorts of drinks.

After we departed from the port of these Ciawani, we passed up the river with the flood, and anchored the ebb, and in this sort we went onward. The third day that we entered the river, our galley came on ground, and stuck so fast, as we thought that even there our discovery had ended, and that we must have left sixty of our men to have inhabited like rooks upon trees with those nations. But the next morning, after we had cast out all her ballast, with tugging and hauling to and fro, we got her afloat. At four days end we fell into as goodly a river as ever I beheld, which was called the Great Amana, which ran more directly, without windings and turnings, than the other. But soon after the flood of the sea left us, and were enforced either by main strength to row against a violent current, or to return as wise as we went out. We had then no shift but to persuade the companies that it was but two or three days work, and therefore desired them to take pains, every gentleman and others taking their turns to row, and to spell one the other at the hour's end. Every day we passed by goodly branches of rivers; some falling from the west, others from the east, into Amana; but those I leave to the description in the chart of discovery, where every one shall be named, with his rising and descent. When three days more were overgone, our companies began to despair; the weather being extreme hot, the river bordered with very high trees that kept away the air, and the current against us every day stronger than other. But we evermore commanded our pilots to promise an end the next day, and used it so long, as we were driven to assure them from four reaches of the river to three, and so to two, and so to the next

reach. But so long we laboured as many days were spent, and so driven to draw ourselves to harder allowance, our bread even at the last, and no drink at all; and our men and ourselves so wearied and scorched, and doubtful withal whether we should ever perform it or no, the heat increasing as we drew towards the line, for we were now in five degrees.

The farther we went on (our victual decreasing and the air breeding great faintness) we grew weaker and weaker, when we had most need of strength and ability; for hourly the river ran more violently than other against us, and the barge, wherries, and ships boat of Captain Gifford and Captain Calfield had spent all their provisions, so as we were brought into despair and discomfort, had we not persuaded all the company that it was but only one day's work more to attain the land, where we should be relieved of all we wanted; and if we returned, that we were sure to starve by the way, and that the world would also laugh us to scorn. On the banks of these rivers were divers sorts of fruits good to eat, flowers and trees of that variety as were sufficient to make ten volumes of herbals. We relieved ourselves many times with the fruits of the country, and sometimes with fowl and fish. We saw birds of all colours; some carnation, some crimson, orange-tawny, purple, green, watched, and of all other sorts, both simple and mixed; as it was unto us a great good passing of the time to behold them, besides the relief we found by killing some store of them with our fowling-pieces, without which, having little or no bread, and less drink, but only the thick and troubled water of the river, we had been in a very hard case.

Our old pilot of the Ciawani (whom, as I said before, we took to redeem Fernando) told us, that if we would enter a branch of a river on the right hand with our barge and wherries, and leave the galley at anchor the while in the great river, he would bring us to a town of the Arwacas, where we should

find store of bread, hens, fish, and of the country wine; and persuaded us, that, departing from the galley at noon, we might return ere night. I was very glad to hear this speech, and presently took my barge, with eight musqueteers, Captain Gifford's wherry, with himself and four musqueteers, and Captain Calfield, with his wherry and as many, and so we entered the mouth of this river; and because we were persuaded that it was so near, we took no victual with us at all. When we had rowed three hours, we marvelled we saw no sign of any dwelling, and asked the pilot where the town was, he told us a little farther. After three hours more, the sun being almost set, we began to suspect that he led us that way to betray us; for he confessed, that those Spaniards which fled from Trinidad, and also those that remained with Carapana in Emeria, were joined together in some village upon that river. But when it grew towards night, and we demanding where the place was, he told us but four reaches more. When we had rowed four and four, we saw no sign, and our poor watermen, even heart-broken and tired, were ready to give up the ghost, for we had now come from the galley near forty miles.

At the last we determined to hang the pilot; and if we had well known the way back again by night, he had surely gone, but our own necessities pleaded sufficiently for his safety; for it was as dark as pitch, and the river began so to narrow itself, and the trees to hang over from side to side, as we were driven with arming swords to cut a passage through those branches that covered the water. We were very desirous to find this town, hoping of a feast, because we made but a short breakfast aboard the galley in the morning, and it was now eight o'clock at night, and our stomachs began to gnaw apace. But whether it was best to return or go on, we began to doubt, suspecting treason in the pilot more and more. But the poor old Indian ever assured us that it was

but a little farther, and but this one turning and that turning; and at last, about one o'clock after midnight, we saw a light, and rowing towards it, we heard the dogs of the village. When we landed we found few people, for the lord of that place was gone with divers canoes above four hundred miles off, upon a journey towards the head of Orinoco to trade for gold, and to buy women of the Cannibals; who afterward, unfortunately, passed by us as we rode at an anchor in the port of Morequito in the dark of night, and yet came so near us as his canoes grated against our barges. He left one of his company at the port of Morequito, by whom we understood that he had brought thirty young women, divers plates of gold, and had great store of fine pieces of cotton-cloth and cotton-beds. In his house we had good store of bread, fish, hens, and Indian drink, and so rested that night; and in the morning, after we had traded with such of his people as came down, we returned towards our galley, and brought with us some quantity of bread, fish, and hens.

On both sides of this river we passed the most beautiful country that ever mine eyes beheld; and whereas all that we had seen before was nothing but woods, prickles, bushes, and thorns, here we beheld plains of twenty miles in length; the grass short and green, and in divers parts groves of trees by themselves, as if they had been by all the art and labour in the world so made of purpose; and still as we rowed, the deer came down feeding by the waters side, as if they had been used to a keeper's call. Upon this river there were great store of fowl, and of many sorts. We saw in it divers sorts of strange fishes, and of marvellous bigness; but for lagartos it exceeded: for there were thousands of those ugly serpents, and the people call it, for the abundance of them, the river of lagartos, in their language. I had a negro, a very proper young fellow, that, leaping out of the galley to swim in the mouth of the river,

was, in all our sights, taken and devoured with one of those lagartos. In the meanwhile, our companies in the galley thought we had been all lost, (for we promised to return before night,) and sent the Lion's Whelp's ship's boat, with Captain Whiddon, to follow us up the river; but the next day, after we had rowed up and down some fourscore miles, we returned, and went on our way up the great river; and when we were even at the last cast for want of victuals, Captain Gifford being before the galley, and the rest of the boats, seeking out some place to land upon the banks to make fire, espied four canoes coming down the river, and, with no small joy, caused his men to try the uttermost of their strengths, and after a while two of the four gave over, and ran themselves ashore, every man betaking himself to the fastness of the woods; the two other lesser got away, while we landed to lay hold on these, and so turned into some by-creek, we knew not whither. Those canoes that were taken were loaden with bread, and were bound for Marguerita, in the West Indies, which those Indians (called Arwacas) purposed to carry thither for exchange. But in the lesser there were three Spaniards, who having heard of the defeat of their governor at Trinidad, and that we purposed to enter Guiana, came away in those canoes. One of them was a cavallero, as the captain of the Arwacas after told us, another a soldier, and the third a refiner.

In the meantime, nothing on the earth could have been more welcome to us, next unto gold, than the great store of very excellent bread which we found in these canoes; for now our men cried, Let us go on, we care not how far! After that Captain Gifford had brought the two canoes to the galley, I took my barge, and went to the bank's side, with a dozen shot, where the canoes first ran themselves ashore, and landed there; sending out Captain Gifford and Captain Thyn, on one hand, and Captain Calfield on

the other, to follow those that were fled into the woods; and as I was creeping through the bushes, I saw an Indian basket hidden, which was the refiner's basket, for I found in it his quicksilver, saltpetre, and divers things for the trial of metals, and also the dust of such ore as he had refined; but in those canoes which escaped there was a good quantity of ore and gold. I then landed more men, and offered five hundred pounds to what soldier soever could take one of those three Spaniards that we thought were landed. But our labours were in vain in that behalf; for they put themselves into one of the small canoes; and so, while the greater canoes were in taking, they escaped. But, seeking after the Spaniards, we found the Arwacas hidden in the woods, which were pilots for the Spaniards, and rowed their canoes; of which I kept the chiefest for a pilot, and carried him with me to Guiana; by whom I understood where and in what countries the Spaniards had laboured for gold, though I made not the same known to all. For when the springs began to break, and the rivers to raise themselves so suddenly, as by no means we could abide the digging of any mine, especially for that the richest are defended with rocks of hard stone, which we call the white spar; and that it required both time, men, and instruments, fit for such a work, I thought it best not to hover thereabouts, lest if the same had been perceived by the company, there would have been by this time many barks and ships set out, and perchance other nations would also have gotten of ours for pilots, so as both ourselves might have been prevented, and all our care taken for good usage of the people been utterly lost, by those that only respect present profit; and such violence or insolence offered, as the nations, which are borderers, would have changed their desire of our love and defence into hatred and violence: and for any longer stay to have brought a more quantity, (which, I hear, hath been often objected,) whosoever

had seen or proved the fury of that river after it began to arise, and had been a month and odd days, as we were, from hearing ought from our ships, leaving them meanly manned, above four hundred miles off, would perchance have turned somewhat sooner than we did, if all the mountains had been gold or rich stones ; and, to say the truth, all the branches and small rivers which fell into Orinoco were raised with such speed, as, if we waded them over the shoes in the morning outward, we were covered to the shoulders homeward the very same day ; and to stay to dig out gold with our nails, had been *opus laboris*, but not *ingenii*. Such a quantity as would have served our turns we could not have had, but a discovery of the mines, to our infinite disadvantage, we had made, and that could have been the best profit of farther search or stay ; for those mines are not easily broken, nor opened in haste ; and I could have returned a good quantity of gold ready cast, if I had not shot at another mark than present profit.

This Arwacan pilot, with the rest, feared that we would have eaten them, or otherwise have put them to some cruel death ; for the Spaniards, to the end that none of the people in the passage towards Guiana, or in Guiana itself, might come to speech with us, persuaded all the nations that we were men-eaters, and cannibals : but when the poor men and women had seen us, and that we gave them meat, and to every one something or other which was rare and strange to them, they began to perceive the deceit and purpose of the Spaniards, who indeed (as they confessed) took from them both their wives and daughters daily, and used them for the satisfying of their own lusts, especially such as they took in this manner by strength. But I protest before the majesty of the living God, that I neither knew nor believe that any of our company, one or other, by violence or otherwise, ever knew any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in

our power, and of those very young, and excellently favoured, which came among us, without deceit, stark naked.

Nothing got us more love among them than this usage ; for I suffered not any man to take from any of the nations so much as a pina, or a potatoe-root, without giving them contentment, nor any man so much as to offer to touch any of their wives or daughters ; which course, so contrary to the Spaniards, (who tyrannize over them in all things,) drew them to admire her majesty, whose commandment I told them it was, and also wonderfully to honour our nation. But I confess it was a very impatient work to keep the meaner sort from spoil and stealing, when we came to their houses ; which because in all I could not prevent, I caused my Indian interpreter, at every place when we departed, to know of the loss or wrong done ; and if ought were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the party punished in their sight, or else it was paid for to their uttermost demand. They also much wondered at us, after they heard that we had slain the Spaniards at Trinidad, for they were before resolved that no nation of Christians durst abide their presence ; and they wondered more when I had made them know of the great overthrow that her majesty's army and fleet had given them of late years in their own countries.

After we had taken in this supply of bread, with divers baskets of roots, which were excellent meat, I gave one of the canoes to the Arwacas, which belonged to the Spaniards that were escaped ; and when I had dismissed all but the captain, (who by the Spaniards was christened Martin,) I sent back in the same canoe the old Ciawan, and Ferdinando my first pilot, and gave them both such things as they desired, with sufficient victuals to carry them back ; and by them wrote a letter to the ships, which they promised to deliver, and performed it, and

then I went on with my new hired pilot Martin the Arwacan. But the next or second day after, we came again aground with our galley, and were like to cast her away, with all our victual and provision, and so lay on sand the whole night, and were far more in despair at this time to free her than before, because we had no tide of flood to help us, and therefore feared that all our hopes would have ended in mishaps; but we fastened an anchor on the land, and with main strength drew her off: and so the 15th we discovered afar off the mountains of Guiana, to our great joy, and towards the evening had a slant of northerly wind that blew very strong, which brought us in sight of the great river Orinoco, out of which the river had descended wherein we were: we descried afar off three other canoes as far as we could discern them, after whom we hastened with our barge and wherries; but two of them passed out of sight, and the third entered upon the great river, on the right hand to the westward, and there stayed out of sight; thinking that we meant to take the way eastward toward the province of Carapana, for that way the Spaniards keep, not daring to go upwards to Guiana, the people in those parts being all their enemies, and those in the canoes thought us to have been those Spaniards that were fled from Trinidad, and had escaped killing: and when we came so far down as the opening of that branch into which they slipped, being near them with our barge and wherries, we made after them, and, ere they could land, came within call, and by our interpreter told them what we were, wherewith they came back willingly aboard us; and of such fish and tortoises eggs as they had gathered, they gave us, and promised in the morning to bring the lord of that part with them, and to do us all other services they could.

That night we came to an anchor at the parting of three goodly rivers; (the one was the river of Amana, by which we came from the north, and ran

athwart towards the south,—the other two were of Orinoco, which crossed from the west, and ran to sea towards the east;) and landed upon a fair sand, where we found thousands of tortoises eggs, which are very wholesome meat, and greatly restoring, so as our men were now well filled, and highly contented both with the fare, and nearness of the land of Guiana, which appeared in sight. In the morning there came down, according to promise, the lord of that border, called Toparimaca, with some thirty or forty followers, and brought us divers sorts of fruits, and of his wine, bread, fish, and flesh; whom we also feasted as we could, at least he drank good Spanish wine, (whereof we had a small quantity in bottles,) which above all things they love. I conferred with this Toparimaca of the next way to Guiana, who conducted our galley and boats to his own port, and carried us from thence some mile and half to his town, where some of our captains caroused of his wine till they were reasonable pleasant; for it is very strong with pepper, and the juice of divers herbs and fruits digested and purged: they keep it in great earthen pots of ten or twelve gallons, very clean and sweet, and are themselves at their meetings and feasts the greatest carousers and drunkards of the world. When we came to this town we found two Caciques, whereof one of them was a stranger that had been up the river in trade, and his boats, people, and wife encamped at the port where we anchored; and the other was of that country, a follower of Toparimaca: they lay each of them in a cotton hammock, which we call Brazil beds, and two women attending them with six cups and a little laddle to fill them out of an earthen pitcher of wine, and so they drank each of them three of these cups at a time, one to the other; and in this sort they drink drunk at their feasts and meetings.

That Cacique that was a stranger had his wife staying at the port where we anchored, and in all

my life I have seldom seen a better favoured woman. She was of good stature, with black eyes, fat of body, of an excellent countenance, her hair almost as long as herself, tied up again in pretty knots, and it seemed she stood not in that awe of her husband as the rest; for she spoke and discoursed, and drank among the gentlemen and captains, and was very pleasant; knowing her own comeliness, and taking great pride therein. I have seen a lady in England so like her, as but for the difference of colour I would have sworn might have been the same.

The seat of this town of Toparimaca was very pleasant, standing on a little hill, in an excellent prospect, with goodly gardens, a mile compass round about it, and two very fair and large ponds of excellent fish adjoining. This town is called Arowocai: The people are of the nation called Nepoios, and are followers of Carapana. In that place I saw very aged people, that we might perceive all their sinews and veins without any flesh, and but even as a case covered only with skin. The lord of this place gave me an old man for pilot, who was of great experience and travel, and knew their river most perfectly both by day and night; and it shall be requisite for any man that passeth it to have such a pilot, for it is four, five, and six miles over in many places, and twenty miles in other places, with wonderful eddies and strong currents, many great islands and divers shoals, and many dangerous rocks; and besides, upon any increase of wind, so great a billow as we were sometimes in great peril of drowning in the galley, for the small boats durst not come from the shore but when it was very fair.

The next day we hastened thence, and having an easterly wind to help us, we spared our arms from rowing; for after we entered Orinoco, the river lieth for the most part east and west, even from the sea unto Quito in Peru. This river is navigable with ships little less than a thousand miles; and from the place

where we entered it may be sailed up in small pinaces to many of the best parts of Nuevo Reyno de Grenada and of Popayan : And from no place may the cities of these parts of the Indies be so easily taken and invaded as from hence. All that day we sailed up a branch of that river, having on the left hand a great island, which they call Assapana, which may contain some five and twenty miles in length and six miles in breadth, the great body of the river running on the other side of this island. Beyond that middle branch there is also another island in the river, called Iwana, which is twice as big as the Isle of Wight; and beyond it, and between it and the Main of Guiana, runneth a third branch of Orinoco called Arraroopana. All three are goodly branches, and all navigable for great ships. I judge the river in this place to be at least thirty miles broad, reckoning the islands which divide the branches in it; for afterwards I sought also both the other branches.

After we reached to the head of this island called Assapana, a little to the westward on the right hand there opened a river which came from the north, called Europa, and fell into the great river; and beyond it, on the same side, we anchored for that night by another island six miles long and two miles broad, which they call Ocaywita: from hence in the morning we landed two Guianians, which we found in the town of Toparimaca, that came with us, who went to give notice of our coming to the lord of that country, called Putyma, a follower of Topiawari, chief lord of Arromaia, who succeeded Morequito, whom (as you have heard before) Berreo put to death; but his town being far within the land, he came not unto us that day, so as we anchored again that night near the banks of another island, of bigness much like the other, which they call Putapayma, on the main land, over-against which island was a very high mountain called Oecope. We coveted to anchor rather by these islands in the river than by the Main, because of the

tortoises eggs, which our people found on them in great abundance, and also because the ground served better for us to cast our nets for fish, the main banks being for the most part stony and high, and the rocks of a blue metalline colour, like unto the best steel ore, which I assuredly take it to be. Of the same blue stone are also divers great mountains, which border this river in many places.

The next morning, towards nine of the clock, we weighed anchor; and the breeze increasing, we sailed always west up the river, and, after a while opening the land on the right side, the country appeared to be champaign, and the banks shewed very perfect red; I therefore sent two of the little barges with Captain Gifford, and with him Captain Thyn, Captain Calfield, my cousin Greenville, my nephew John Gilbert, Captain Eynus, Mr Edward Porter, and my cousin Butthead Gorges, with some few soldiers, to march over the banks of that red land, and to discover what manner of country it was on the other side; who at their return found it all a plain level, as far as they went or could discern, from the highest tree they could get upon; and my old pilot, a man of great travel, brother to the Cacique Toparimaca, told me that those were called the plains of the Sayma; and that the same level reached to Cumana and Caracas in the West Indies, which are a hundred and twenty leagues to the north, and that there inhabited four principal nations: The first were the Sayma, the next Assawai, the third and greatest the Wikiri, by whom Pedro Hernandes de Serpa before-mentioned was overthrown, as he passed with three hundred horse from Cumana towards Orinoco, in his enterprise of Guiana; the fourth are called Aroras, and are as black as negroes, but have smooth hair, and these are very valiant, or rather desperate people, and have the most strong poison on their arrows, and most dangerous of all nations; of which poison I will speak somewhat, being a digression not unnecessary.

There was nothing whereof I was more curious than to find out the true remedies of these poisoned arrows ; for besides the mortality of the wound they make, the party shot endureth the most insufferable torment in the world, and abideth a most ugly and lamentable death ; sometimes dying stark mad, sometimes their bowels breaking out of their bellies, and are presently discoloured as black as pitch, and so unsavoury as no man can endure to cure or to attend them : and it is more strange to know, that in all this time there was never Spaniard, either by gift or torment, that could attain to the true knowledge of the cure, although they have martyred and put to invented torture I know not how many of them. But every one of these Indians know it not, no not one among thousands, but their soothsayers and priests, who do conceal it, and only teach it but from the father to the son.

Those medicines which are vulgar, and serve for the ordinary poison, are made of the juice of a root called Tupara. The same also quencheth marvelously the heat of burning fevers, and healeth inward wounds, and broken veins that bleed within the body. But I was more beholden to the Guianians than any other ; for Antonio de Berreo told me, that he could never attain to the knowledge thereof, and yet they taught me the best way of healing as well thereof as of all other poisons. Some of the Spaniards have been cured in ordinary wounds of the common poisoned arrows, with the juice of garlick ; but this is a general rule for all men that shall hereafter travel the Indies where poisoned arrows are used, that they must abstain from drink ; for if they take any liquor into their body, as they shall be marvellously provoked thereunto by drought,—I say, if they drink before the wound be dressed, or soon upon it, there is no way with them but present death.

And so I will return again to our journey, which for this third day we finished, and east anchor again

near the continent, on the left hand between two mountains, the one called Aroami, and the other Aio. I made no stay here but till midnight, for I feared hourly lest any rain should fall, and then it had been impossible to have gone any farther up, notwithstanding that there is every day a very strong breeze and easterly wind. I deferred the search of the country on Guiana side, till my return down the river. The next day we sailed by a great island, in the middle of the river called Manoripano; and as we walked a while on the island, while the galley got a-head of us, there came after us from the main a small canoe, with seven or eight Guianians, to invite us to anchor at their port; but I deferred till my return,—it was that Cacique to whom these Nepoies went which came with us from the town of Toparimaea;—and so the fifth day we reached as high up as the province of Arromaia, the country of Morequito whom Berreo executed, and anchored to the west of an island called Murrecotima, ten miles long and five broad; and that night the Cacique Aramiari, (to whose town we made our long and hungry voyage out of the river of Amana,) passed by us.

The next day we arrived at the port of Morequito, and anchored there, sending away one of our pilots to seek the king of Arromaia, uncle to Morequito, slain by Berreo as aforesaid. The next day following, before noon, he came to us on foot from his house, which was fourteen English miles, (himself being an hundred and ten years old,) and returned on foot the same day; and with him many of the borderers, with many women and children, that came to wonder at our nation, and to bring us down victual; which they did in great plenty, as venison, pork, hens, chickens, fowl, fish, with divers sorts of excellent fruits and roots, and great abundance of pines, the princess of fruits, that grow under the sun, especially those of Guiana. They brought us also store of bread, and of their wine, and a sort of paraguitos

no bigger than wrens, and of all sorts both small and great: one of them gave me a beast called by the Spaniards *armadilla*, which they call *cassacam*, which seemeth to be all barred over with small plates, somewhat like to a rhinoceros, with a white horn growing in his hinder parts, as big as a great hunting horn, which they use to wind instead of a trumpet. Monardus writeth, that a little of the powder of that horn put into the ear cureth deafness.

After this old king had rested a while in a little tent that I caused to be set up, I began, by my interpreter, to discourse with him of the death of Meroquito his predecessor, and afterward of the Spaniards; and ere I went any farther, I made him know the cause of my coming thither, whose servant I was, and that the Queen's pleasure was, I should undertake the voyage for their defence, and to deliver them from the tyranny of the Spaniards; dilating at large, (as I had done before to those of Trinidad,) her majesty's greatness, her justice, her charity to all oppressed nations, with as many of the rest of her beauties and virtues as either I could express or they conceive: All which being with great admiration attentively heard, and marvellously admired, I began to sound the old man as touching Guiana, and the state thereof, what sort of commonwealth it was, how governed, of what strength and policy, how far it extended, and what nations were friends or enemies adjoining, and finally of the distance and way to enter the same. He told me that himself and his people, with all those down the river towards the sea, as far as Emeria, the province of Carapana, were of Guiana; but that they called themselves Orinococoni, because they bordered the great river of Orinoco; and that all the nations between the river and those mountains in sight, called Wacarima, were of the same cast and appellation; and that on the other side of those mountains of Wacarima there was a large plain, (which after I discover-

ed in my return,) called the valley of Amariocapana ; in all that valley the people were also of the ancient Guianians. I asked what nations those were which inhabited on the further side of those mountains, beyond the valley of Amariocapana. He answered with a great sigh, (as a man which had an inward feeling of the loss of his country and liberty, especially for that his eldest son was slain in battle on that side of the mountains, whom he most entirely loved,) that he remembered in his father's lifetime, when he was very old, and himself a young man, that there came down into that large valley of Guiana, a nation from so far off as the sun slept, (for such were his own words,) with so great a multitude as they could not be numbered nor resisted ; and that they wore large coats, and hats of crimson colour, which colour he expressed, by shewing a piece of red wood wherewith my tent was supported, and that they were called Oreiones, and Epuremei,—those that had slain and rooted out so many of the ancient people as there were leaves in the wood upon all the trees,—and had now made themselves lords of all, even to that mountain foot called Curaa, saving only of two nations, the one called Iwarawaqueri, and the other Cassipagotos ; and that in the last battle fought between the Epuremei and the Iwarawaqueri, his eldest son was chosen to carry to the aid of the Iwarawaqueri, a great troop of the Orinococoni, and was there slain with all his people and friends ; and that he had now remaining but one son : And farther told me, that those Epuremei had built a great town called Macu-reguarai, at the said mountain foot, at the beginning of the great plains of Guiana, which have no end ; and that their houses have many rooms, one over the other, and that therein the great king of the Oreiones and Epuremei kept three thousand men to defend the borders against them, and withal daily to invade and slay them ; but that of late years, since the Christians offered to invade his territories, and

those frontiers, they were all at peace, and traded one with another ; saving only the Iwarawaqueri, and those other nations upon the head of the river of Caroli, called Cassipagotos, (which we afterwards discovered,) each one holding the Spaniard for a common enemy.

After he had answered thus far, he desired leave to depart, saying that he had far to go ; that he was old and weak, and was every day called for by death, which was also his own phrase. I desired him to rest with us that night, but I could not intreat him ; but he told me, that at my return from the country above, he would again come to us, and in the meantime provide for us the best he could of all that his country yielded. The same night he returned to Orocotona, his own town, so as he went that day twenty-eight miles, the weather being very hot, the country being situate between four and five degrees of the Equinoctial. This Topiawari is held for the proudest and wisest of all the Orinocoponi ; and so he behaved himself towards me in all his answers at my return, as I marvelled to find a man of that gravity and judgment, and of so good discourse, that had no help of learning nor breed.

The next morning we also left the port, and sailed westward up the river, to view the famous river called Caroli, as well because it was marvellous of itself, as also for that I understood it led to the strongest nations of all the frontiers that were enemies to the Epuremei, which are subjects to Inca, emperor of Guiana and Manoa ; and that night we anchored at another island called Caiama, of some five or six miles in length, and the next day arrived at the mouth of Caroli. When we were short of it, as low or farther down as the port of Morequito, we heard the great roar and fall of the river ; but when we came to enter with our barge and wherries, thinking to have gone up some forty miles to the nations of the Cassipagotos, we were not able with a barge of eight oars

to row one stone's cast in an hour; and yet the river is as broad as the Thames at Woolwich, and we tried both sides, and the middle, and every part of the river; so as we encamped upon the banks adjoining, and sent off our Orinocopone (which came with us from Morequito) to give knowledge to the nations upon the river of our being there, and that we desired to see the lords of Canuria, which dwelt within the province upon that river; making them know that we were enemies to the Spaniards; (for it was on this river's side that Morequito slew the friar, and those nine Spaniards which came from Manoa, the city of Inca, and took from them forty thousand pe-
soes of gold); so as the next day there came down a lord or Cacique called Wanuretona, with many people with him, and brought all store of provisions to entertain us, as the rest had done. And as I had before made my coming known to Topiawari, so did I acquaint this Cacique therewith, and how I was sent by her Majesty for the purpose aforesaid, and gathered also what I could of him touching the estate of Guiana; and I found that those also of Caroli were not only enemies to the Spaniards, but most of all to the Epuremei, which abound in gold: and by this Wanuretona, I had knowledge that on the head of this river were three mighty nations, which were seated on a great lake, from whence this river descended, and were called Cassipagotos, Eparagotos, and Arawagotos; and that all those, either against the Spaniards or the Epuremei, would join with us; and that if we entered the land over the mountains of Curaa, we should satisfy ourselves with gold and all other good things. He told us, farther, of a nation called Iwarawaqueri, before spoken of, that held daily war with the Epuremei that inhabited Maoureguarai, the first civil town of Guiana, of the subjects of Inca the Emperor.

Upon this river, one Captain George, that I took with Berreo, told me there was a great silver mine,

and that it was near the banks of the said river. But by this time as well Orinoco, Caroli, as all the rest of the rivers, were risen four or five feet in height, so as it was not possible, by the strength of any man, or with any boat whatsoever, to row into the river against the stream. I therefore sent Captain Thyn, Captain Greenville, my nephew John Gilbert, my cousin Butshead Gorges, Captain Clarke, and some thirty shot more, to coast the river by land, and to go to a town some twenty miles over the valley called Annatapoi; and if they found guides there, to go farther towards the mountain foot to another great town, called Capurepana, belonging to a Cacique called Haaracoa, (that was a nephew to old Topiawari, king of Arromaia, our chiefest friend); because this town and province of Capurepana adjoined to Macureguarai, which was the frontier town of the empire; and the meanwhile myself with Captain Gifford, Captain Calfield, Edward Hancock, and some half a dozen shot, marched over land to view the strange overfalls of the river of Caroli, which roared so far off, and also to see the plains adjoining, and the rest of the province of Canuri. I sent also Captain Whiddon, W. Cannoke, and some eight shot with them, to see if they could find any mineral stone along the river's side. When we ran to the tops of the first hills of the plain adjoining to the river, we beheld that wonderful breach of waters, which ran down Caroli; and might from that mountain see the river how it ran in three parts, above twenty mile off; and there appeared some ten or twelve overfalls in sight, every one as high over another as a church tower, which fell with that fury that the rebound of waters made it seem as if it had been all covered over with a great shower of rain; and in some places we took it at the first for a smoke that had risen over some great town. For my own part, I was well persuaded from thence to have returned, being a very ill footman; but the rest were all so desirous to go

near the strange thunder of waters, as they drew me on by little and little, till we came into the next valley, where we might better discern the same. I never saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects; hills so raised here and there over the vallies; the river winding into divers branches; the plains adjoining without bush or stubble, all fair green grass; the ground of hard sand, easy to march on, either for horse or foot; the deer crossing in every path; the birds, towards the evening, singing on every tree with a thousand several tunes; cranes and herons of white, crimson, and carnation, perching on the river's side; the air fresh, with a gentle easterly wind; and every stone that we stooped to take up promised either gold or silver by its complexion. Your Lordship shall see of many sorts, and I hope some of them cannot be bettered under the sun; and yet we had no means but with our daggers and fingers to tear them out here and there, the rocks being most hard, of that mineral spar aforesaid, and is like a flint, and is altogether as hard or harder, and besides the veins lie a fathom or two deep in the rocks. But we wanted all things requisite save only our desires and good-will to have performed more, if it had pleased God. To be short, when both our companies returned, each of them brought also several sorts of stones that appeared very fair, but were such as they found loose on the ground, and were for the most part but coloured, and had not any gold fixed in them; yet such as had no judgment or experience kept all that glittered, and would not be persuaded but it was rich because of the lustre; and brought of those, and of the marcasite withal, from Trinidad, and have delivered of those stones to be tried in many places, and have thereby bred an opinion that all the rest is of the same. Yet some of these stones I shewed afterward to a Spaniard of the Caraccas, who told me that it was *el madre del oro*, and that the mine was farther in the ground. But it shall be

found a weak policy in me either to betray myself or my country with imaginations; neither am I so far in love with that lodging, watching, care, peril, diseases, ill savours, bad fare, and many other mischiefs that accompany these voyages, as to woo myself again into any of them, were I not assured that the sun covereth not so much riches in any part of the earth. Captain Whiddon, and our surgeon Nich. Millechap, brought me a kind of stones like sapphires; what they may prove I know not. I shewed them to some of the Orinococoni, and they promised to bring me to a mountain that had of them very large pieces growing diamond wise. Whether it be crystal of the mountain, Bristol diamond, or sapphire, I do not yet know, but I hope the best; sure I am that the place is as likely as those from whence all the rich stones are brought, and in the same height, or very near.

On the left hand of this river Caroli are seated those nations which are called Iwarawakeri, before remembered, which are enemies to the Epuremei; and on the head of it, adjoining to the great lake Cassip, are situate those other nations which also resist Inca, and the Epuremei, called Cassepagotos, Eparegotos, and Arrawagotos. I farther understood that this lake of Cassipa is so large, as it is above one day's journey for one of their canoes to cross, which may be some forty miles; and that therein fall divers rivers; and that great store of grains of gold are found in the summer time, when the lake falleth by the banks, in those branches. There is also another goodly river beyond Caroli, which is called Arvi, which also runneth through the lake Cassipa, and falleth into Orinoco farther west, making all that land between Caroli and Arvi an island, which is likewise a most beautiful country. Next unto Arvi there are two rivers, Atoica and Caora; and on that branch which is called Caora are a nation of people, whose heads appear not above their shoulders; which,

though it may be thought a mere fable, yet for mine own part I am resolved it is true, because every child in the provinces of Arromaia and Canuri affirm the same. They are called Ewaipanoma; they are reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouths in the middle of their breasts, and that a long train of hair groweth backward between their shoulders. The son of Topiawari, which I brought with me into England, told me that they are the most mighty men of all the land, and use bows, arrows, and clubs, thrice as big as any of Guiana, or of the Orinocoponi, and that one of the Iwarawakeri took a prisoner of them the year before our arrival there, and brought him into the borders of Arromaia, his father's country. And farther, when I seemed to doubt of it, he told me that it was no wonder among them, but that they were as great a nation, and as common, as any other in all the provinces, and had of late years slain many hundreds of his father's people, and of other nations their neighbours. But it was not my chance to hear of them till I was come away; and if I had but spoken one word of it while I was there, I might have brought one of them with me to put the matter out of doubt. Such a nation was written of by Mandeville, whose reports were held for fables many years; and yet since the East Indies were discovered, we find his relations true of such things as heretofore were held incredible. Whether it be true or no, the matter is not great, neither can there be any profit in the imagination; for mine own part I saw them not, but I am resolved that so many people did not all combine, or forethink, to make the report. When I came to Cumana in the West Indies, afterwards, by chance, I spoke with a Spaniard dwelling not far from thence, a man of great travel; and after he knew that I had been in Guiana, and so far directly west as Caroli, the first question he asked me was, whether I had seen any of the Ewaipanoma, which are those without heads,—who being esteem-

ed a most honest man of his word, and in all things else, told me that he had seen many of them: I may not name him, because it may be for his disadvantage; but he is well known to Monsieur Mucheron's son of London, and to Peter Mucheron, merchant, of the Flemish ship that was there in trade, who also heard what he avowed to be true of those people.

The fourth river to the west of Caroli is Casnero, which falleth into Orinoco on this side of Amapia; and that river is greater than Danubius, or any of Europe: it riseth on the south of Guiana, from the mountains which divide Guiana from Amazons; and I think it to be navigable many hundred miles: but we had no time, means, nor season of the year, to search those rivers, for the causes aforesaid; the winter being come upon us, although the winter and summer, as touching cold and heat, differ not, neither do the trees ever sensibly lose their leaves, but have always fruit either ripe or green, and most of them both blossoms, leaves, ripe fruit, and green, at one time; but their winter only consisteth of terrible rains, and overflowings of the rivers, with many great storms and gusts, thunder and lightnings, of which we had our fill ere we returned. On the north side, the first river that falleth into Orinoco is Cari; beyond it on the same side is the river of Limo; between these two is a great nation of Cannibals, and their chief town beareth the name of the river, and is called Acamacari. As this town is a continual market for women for three or four hatchets a-piece, they are bought by the Arwacas, and by them sold into the West Indies. To the west of Limo is the river Pao, beyond it Caturi, beyond that Voari, and Capuri, which falleth out of the great river of Meta, by which Berreo descended from Nuevo reyno de Granada. To the westward of Capuri is the province of Amapaia, where Berreo wintered, and had so many of his people poisoned with the tawny water of the marshes of the Anebaa. Above Amapaia, to-

ward Nuevo reyno, fall in Meta, Pato, and Cassanar: To the west of these, towards the provinces of Ashaguas and Catetios, are the rivers of Beta, Dawney, and Ubarrow; and towards the frontier of Peru are the provinces Thomebamba and Caximalca: adjoining to Quito, in the north of Peru, are the rivers of Guiacar and Goavar; and on the other side of the said mountains the river of Papamene, which descendeth into Marannon, or Amazons, passing through the province of the Mutyrones, where Don Pedro de Orsua, who was slain by the traitor Aguirre, before rehearsed, built his brigantines, when he sought Guiana by the way of Amazons. Between Dawney and Beta lieth a famous island in Orinoco, now called Baraquan, (for above Meta it is not known by the name of Orinoco,) which is called Athule, beyond which ships of burden cannot pass, by reason of a most forcible overfal and current of waters; but in the eddy all smaller vessels may be drawn, even to Peru itself. But to speak more of these rivers, without the description, were but tedious; and therefore I will leave the rest to the description. This river of Orinoco is navigable for ships little less than a thousand miles, and for lesser vessels near two thousand. By it (as aforesaid) Peru, Nuevo reyno, and Popaian, may be invaded: it also leadeth to that great empire of Inca, and to the provinces of Amapia and Anebas, which abound in gold; his branches of Cosnero, Manta, Caora, descend from the middle-land and valley, which lieth between the eastern province of Peru and Guiana; and it falls into the sea between Marannon and Trinidad, in two degrees and a half. All which your Honours shall better perceive in the general description of Guiana, Peru, Nuevo reyno, the kingdom of Popayan, and Riодas, with the province of Venezuela, to the bay of Uraba, behind Carthagena, westward, and to Amazons southward.

While we lay at anchor on the coast of Canuri, and

had taken knowledge of all the nations upon the head and branches of this river, and had found out so many several people, which were enemies to the Epuremei and the new conquerors, I thought it time lost to linger any longer in that place, especially for that the fury of Orinoco began daily to threaten us with dangers in our return; for no half-day passed but the river began to rage and overflow very fearfully, and the rains came down in terrible showers, and gusts in great abundance; and withal, our men began to cry out for want of shift; for no man had place to bestow any other apparel than that which he wore on his back, and that was thoroughly washed on his body, for the most part ten times in one day; and we had now been well near a month, every day passing to the westward, farther and farther from our ships. We therefore turned towards the east, and spent the rest of the time in discovering the river towards the sea, which we had not yet viewed, and which was most material. The next day following we left the mouth of Caroli, and arrived again at the port of Morequito, where we were before, (for passing down the stream we went without labour, and against the wind, little less than 100 miles a-day.) As soon as I came to anchor, I sent away one for old Topiawari, with whom I much desired to have farther conference; and also to deal with him for some one of his country to bring with us into England, as well to learn the language, as to confer withal by the way (the time being now spent of any longer stay there.) Within three hours after my messenger came to him he arrived also, and with him such a rabble of all sorts of people, and every one laden with somewhat, as if it had been a great market or fair in England; and our hungry companies clustered thick and threefold among their baskets, every one laying hand on what he liked. After he had rested a while in my tent, I shut out all but ourselves and my interpreter, and told him, that I knew that

both the Epuremei and the Spaniards were enemies to him, his country, and nations; that the one had conquered Guiana already, and that the other sought to regain the same from them both; and therefore I desired him to instruct me what he could, both of the passage into the golden parts of Guiana, and to the civil towns and apparelled people of Inca. He gave me an answer to this effect: First, That he did not perceive that I meant to go onward towards the city of Manoa; for neither the time of the year served, nor could he perceive any sufficient numbers for such an enterprise; and if I did, I was sure with all my company to be buried there; for that the emperor was of that strength, as that many times so many men more were too few. Besides, he gave me this good counsel, and advised me to hold it in mind, (as for himself he knew he could not live till my return,) that I should not offer by any means hereafter to invade the strong parts of Guiana without the help of all those nations which were also their enemies; for that it was impossible, without those, either to be conducted, to be victualled, or to have ought carried with us; our people not being able to endure the march in so great heat and travel, unless the borderers gave them help to carry with them both their meat and furniture; for he remembered, that in the plains of Macureguarai three hundred Spaniards were overthrown, who were tired out, and had none of the borderers to their friends; but meeting their enemies as they passed the frontier, were environed on all sides, and the people setting the long dry grass on fire, smothered them, so as they had no breath to fight, nor could discern their enemies, for the great smoke. He told me farther, that four days journey from his own town was Macureguarai, and that those were the next and nearest of the subjects of Inca and of the Epuremei, and the first town of apparelled and rich people; and that all those plates of gold which were scattered among the borderers, and car-

ried to other nations far and near, came from the said Macureguarai, and were there made ; but that those of the lands within were far finer, and were fashioned after the image of men, beasts, birds, and fishes. I asked him, whether he thought that those companies that I had there with me were sufficient to take that town or no ? He told me that he thought they were. I then asked him, whether he would assist me with guides, and some companies of his people to join with us ? He answered, that he would go himself with all the borderers, if the rivers did remain fordable ; upon this condition, that I would leave with him till my return again fifty soldiers, which he undertook to victual. I answered, that I had not above fifty good men in all there ; the rest were labourers and rowers ; and that I had no provision to leave with them of powder, shot, apparel, or ought else ; and that without those things necessary for their defence, they should be in danger of the Spaniards in my absence, who I knew would use the same measure towards mine that I offered them at Trinidad : And although, upon the motion, Captain Calfield, Captain Greenville, my nephew John Gilbert, and divers others, were desirous to stay, yet I was resolved that they must needs have perished ; for Berreo expected daily a supply out of Spain, and looked also hourly for his son to come down from Nuevo reyno de Granada with many horse and foot, and had also in Valentia in the Caraccas two hundred horse ready to march ; and I could not have spared above forty, and had not any store at all of powder, lead, or match to have left with them, nor any other provision, either spade, pick-ax, or ought else to have fortified withal. When I had given him reason that I could not at this time leave him such a company, he then desired me to forbear him and his country for that time ; for he assured me that I should be no sooner three days from the coast, but those Epuremei would invade him, and destroy all the remains of his

people and friends, if he should any way either guide us, or assist us against them. He further alleged, that the Spaniards sought his death; and as they had already murdered his nephew Morequito, lord of that province, so they had him seventeen days in a chain before he was king of the country, and led him like a dog from place to place, until he had paid a hundred plates of gold, and divers chains of spleen stones, for his ransom; and now since he became owner of that province, that they had many times laid wait to take him, and that they would be now more vehement when they should understand of his conference with the English; and because, said he, they would the better displant me, if they cannot lay hands on me, they have gotten a nephew of mine, called Eparacano, whom they have christened Don Ivan, and his son Don Pedro, whom they have also apparelled and armed, by whom they seek to make a party against me in mine own country: He also hath taken to wife one Loviana, of a strong family, which are my borderers and neighbours; and myself being now old, and in the hands of death, am not able to travel, nor to shift, as when I was of younger years. He therefore prayed us to defer it till the next year, when he would undertake to draw in all the borderers to serve us, and then also it would be more seasonable to travel; for at this time of the year we should not be able to pass any river, the waters were and would be so grown ere our return. He farther told me, that I could not desire so much to invade Macureguarai and the rest of Guiana but that the borderers would be more vehement than I; for he yielded for a chief cause, that in the wars with the Epuremei they were spoiled of their women, and that their wives and daughters were taken from them; so as for their own parts they desired nothing of the gold or treasure for their labours, but only to recover women from the Epuremei: For he farther complained very sadly, (as if it had been a matter

of great consequence,) that whereas they were wont to have ten or twelve wives, they were now enforced to content themselves with three or four, and that the lords of the Epuremei had fifty or a hundred. And in truth they war more for women than either for gold or dominion. For the lords of countries desire many children of their own bodies, to increase their races and kindreds ; for in those consist their greatest trust and strength. Divers of his followers afterwards desired me to make haste again, that they might sack the Epuremei ; and I asked them of what ? They answered, of their women for us, and their gold for you : For the hope of many of those women they more desire the war, than either for gold or for the recovery of their ancient territories ; for what between the subjects of Inca and the Spaniards, those frontiers are grown thin of people, and also great numbers are fled to other nations farther off for fear of the Spaniards.

After I received this answer of the old man, we fell into consideration, whether it had been of better advice to have entered Macureguarai, and to have begun a war upon Inca at this time, yea or no, if the time of the year, and all things else, had sorted. For mine own part, (as we were not able to march it for the rivers, neither had any such strength as was requisite, and durst not abide the coming of the winter, or to tarry any longer from our ships,) I thought it very evil counsel to have attempted it at that time, although the desire of gold will answer many objections ; but it would have been, in my opinion, an utter overthrow to the enterprise, if the same should be hereafter, by her majesty, attempted. For then (whereas now they have heard we were enemies to the Spaniards, and were sent by her majesty to relieve them) they would as good cheap have joined with the Spaniards at our return, as to have yielded unto us, when they had proved that we came both for one errand, and that both sought to sack and

spoil them. But as yet our desire of gold, or our purpose of invasion, is not known unto those of the empire; and it is likely, that if her majesty undertake the enterprise, they will rather submit themselves to her obedience than to the Spaniards, of whose cruelty both themselves and the borderers have already tasted; and therefore, till I had known her majesty's pleasure, I would rather have lost the sack of one or two towns, (although they might have been very profitable,) than to have defaced or endangered the future hope of so many millions, and the great, good, and rich trade which England may be possessed of thereby. I am assured now, that they will all die, even to the last man, against the Spaniards, in hope of our succour and return; whereas otherwise, if I had either laid hands on the borderers, or ransomed the lords, as Berreo did, or invaded the subjects of Inca, I know all had been lost for hereafter. After that I had resolved Topiawari, lord of Aromaia, that I could not at this time leave with him the companies he desired, and that I was contented to forbear the enterprise against the Epuremei till the next year, he freely gave me his only son to take with me into England; and hoped, that though he himself had but a short time to live, yet that by our means his son should be established after his death. And I left with him one Francis Sparrow, a servant of Captain Gifford, who was desirous to tarry, and could describe a country with his pen, and a boy of mine, called Hugh Goodwin, to learn the language. I after asked the manner how the Epuremei wrought those plates of gold, and how they could melt it out of the stone; he told me, that the most of the gold which they made in plates and images, was not severed from the stone; but that on the lake of Manoa, and in a multitude of other rivers, they gathered it in grains of perfect gold, and in pieces as big as small stones; and that they put to it a part of copper, otherwise they could not work it, and that they

used a great earthen pot, with holes round about it ; and when they had mingled the gold and copper together, they fastened canes to the holes, and so with the breath of men they increased the fire till the metal ran ; and then they cast it into moulds of stone and clay, and so make those plates and images. I have sent your honours of two sorts such as I could by chance recover, more to shew the manner of them than for the value ; for I did not in any sort make my desire of gold known, because I had neither time nor power to have a greater quantity. I gave among them many more pieces of gold than I received, of the new money of twenty shillings, with her majesty's picture to wear, with promise that they would become her servants thenceforth.

I have also sent your honours of the ore, whereof I know some is as rich as the earth yieldeth any ; of which I know there is sufficient, if nothing else were to be hoped for. But besides that we were not able to tarry and search the hills, so we had neither pioneers, bars, sledges, nor wedges of iron, to break the ground, without which there is no working in mines. But we saw all the hills with stone of the colour of gold and silver, and we tried them to be no marcasite, and therefore such as the Spaniards call *el madre del oro*, which is an undoubted assurance of the general abundance ; and myself saw the outside of many mines of the white spar, which I know to be the same that all covet in this world, and of those more than I will speak of.

Having learned what I could in Canuri and Aromaia, and received a faithful promise of the principal of those provinces to become servants to her majesty, and to resist the Spaniards, if they made any attempt in our absence, and that they would draw in the nations about the lake of Cassipa, and those Iwarawakeri, I then parted from old Topiawari, and received his son for a pledge between us, and left him two of ours, as aforesaid. To Francis

Sparrow I gave instructions to travel to Macureguarai with such merchandizes as I left with him, thereby to learn the place, and if it were possible to go on to the great city of Manoa. Which being done, we weighed anchor, and coasted the river on Guiana side, because we came up on the north side by the lawns of the Saima and Wikiri.

There came with us from Aromaia a Cacique, called Putyma, that commanded the province of Warapana, (which Putyma slew the nine Spaniards upon Caroli, before spoken of,) who desired us to rest at the port of his country; promising to bring us to a mountain adjoining to his town that had stones of the colour of gold, which he performed. And after we had rested there one night, I went myself in the morning, with most of the gentlemen of my company, over land towards the said mountain, marching by a river's side called Mano, leaving on the right hand a town called Tuteritona, standing in the province of Tarracoa, of which Wariaatemagoto is principal. Beyond it lieth another town, towards the south, in the valley of Amariocapana, which beareth the name of the said valley, whose plains stretch themselves some sixty miles in length, east and west, as fair ground and as beautiful fields as any man hath ever seen, with divers copses scattered here and there by the river's side, and all as full of deer as any forest or park in England, and in every lake and river the like abundance of fish and fowl, of which Irraparragota is lord.

From the river of Mano we crossed another river, in the said beautiful valley, called Oiana, and rested ourselves by a clear lake, which lay in the middle of the said Oiana; and one of our guides kindling us fire with two sticks, we staid a while to dry our shirts, which with the heat hung very wet and heavy on our shoulders. Afterwards we sought the ford, to pass over towards the mountain called Iconuri, where Putyma foretold us of the mine. In this lake we saw one of the great fishes as big as a wine-pipe,

which they call manati, and is most excellent and wholesome meat. But after I perceived, that to pass the said river would require half a day's march more, I was not able myself to endure it; and therefore I sent Captain Keymis, with six shot, to go on, and gave him order not to return to the port of Putyma, which is called Chiparepare, but to take leisure, and to march down the said valley as far as a river called cumaca, where I promised to meet him again, (Putyma himself promising also to be his guide;) and as they marched they left the towns of Emparepan and Capurepana on the right hand, and marched from Putyma's house down the said valley of Arriocopana, and we returned the same day to the river's side,—saw by the way many rocks like ur gold ore, and on the left hand a round mounta which consisted of mineral stone.

From hence we rowed down the stream, coast the province of Parino. As for the branches of vers, which I overpass in this discourse, those s be better expressed in the description, with the m tains of Aio, Ara, and the rest, which are situat the provinces of Parino and Carricurina. When were come as far down as the land called Arriac (where Orinoco divideth itself into three branches, each of them being most goodly riv I sent away Captain Henry Thyn and Captain G ville with the galley the nearest way, and took me Captain Gifford, Captain Calfield, Edward ter, and Captain Eynos, with mine own bargo the two wherries, and went down that branch of noco which is called Cararoopana, which leade wards Emeria, the province of Carapana, ar wards the east sea, as well to find out Captain mis, whom I had sent over land, as also to acc myself with Carapana, who is one of the great all the lords of the Orinocoponi. And whe came to the river of Cumaca, (to which Putyma mised to conduct Captain Keymis,) I left C

Eynos and Master Porter in the said river to expect his coming, and the rest of us rowed down the stream towards Emeria.

In this branch, called Cararoopana, were also many goodly islands, some of six miles long, some of ten, and some of twenty. When it grew towards sun-set, we entered a branch of a river that fell into Orinoco, called Winicapora, where I was informed of the mountain of crystal; to which, in truth, for the length of the way, and the evil season of the year, I was not able to march, nor abide any longer upon the journey. We saw it afar off, and it appeared like a white church tower of an exceeding height. There falleth over it a mighty river, which toucheth no part of the side of the mountain, but rusheth over the top of it and falleth to the ground, with a terrible noise and clamour, as if a thousand great bells were knocked one against another. I think there is not in the world so strange an overfal, nor so wonderful to behold. Berreo told me that it hath diamonds and other precious stones on it, and that they shined very far off. But what it hath I know not; neither durst he nor any of his men ascend to the top of the said mountain, those people adjoining being his enemies (as they were), and the way to it so impassable.

Upon this river of Winicapora we rested a while; and from thence marched into the country to a town called after the name of the river, whereof the chief was one Timitwara, who also offered to conduct me to the top of the said mountain called Wacarima. But when we came in first to the house of the said Timitwara, being upon one of their feast-days, we found them all as drunk as beggars, and the pots walking from one to another without rest. We that were weary, and hot with marching, were glad of the plenty, though a small quantity satisfied us, their drink being very strong and heady, and so rested ourselves awhile. After we had fed, we drew our-

selves back to our boats upon the river; and there came to us all the lords of the country, with all such kind of victual as the place yielded, and with their delicate wine of pinas, and with abundance of hens and other provisions, and of those stones which we call spleen-stones. We understood by these chieftains of Winicapora, that their lord Carapana was departed from Emeria, which was now in sight; and that he was fled to Cairamo, adjoining to the mountains of Guiana, over the valley called Amariocopana; being persuaded by those ten Spaniards, which lay at his house, that we would destroy him and his country.

But after these Caciques of Winicapora and Saporatona, his followers, perceived our purpose, and saw that we came as enemies to the Spaniards only, and had not so much as harmed any of those nations, no, though we found them to be of the Spaniards own servants, they assured us that Carapana would be as ready to serve us as any of the lords of the provinces which we had passed; and that he durst do no other till this day but entertain the Spaniards, his country lying so directly in their way, and the next of all other to any entrance that should be made in Guiana on that side.

And they further assured us, that it was not for fear of our coming that he was removed, but to be acquitted of those Spaniards, or any other, that should come hereafter; for the province of Cairoma is situate at the mountain foot which divideth the plains of Guiana from the countries of Orinococoni; by means whereof, if any should come in our absence into his towns, he would slip over the mountain into the plains of Guiana, among the Epuremei, where the Spaniards durst not follow him without great force.

But in my opinion, or rather I assure myself, that Carapana (being a notable wise and subtle fellow, a man of one hundred years of age, and therefore of great experience,) is removed to look on, and if he

find that we return strong, he will be ours; if not, he will excuse his departure to the Spaniards, and say it was for fear of our coming.

We therefore thought it bootless to row so far down the stream, or to seek any farther for this old fox; and therefore, from the river of Waricapana, (which lieth at the entrance of Emeria,) we turned again, and left to the eastward those four rivers which fall from out the mountains of Emeria into Orinoco, which are Warácapari, Coirama, Akaniri, and Iparoma. Below these four are also those branches and mouths of Orinoco which fall into the east sea; where of the first is Araturi, the next Amacura, the third Barima, the fourth Wana, the fifth Morocca, the sixth Paroma, the last Wymi. Beyond them there fall out of the land between Orinoco and Amazons fourteen rivers, which I forbear to name, inhabited by the Arwacas and Cannibals.

It is now time to return towards the north, and we found it a wearisome way back, from the borders of Emeria, to recover up again to the head of the river Carerupana, by which we descended, and where we parted from the galley, which I directed to take the next way to the port of Toparimaca, by which we entered first.

All the night it was stormy and dark, and full of thunder and great showers, so as we were driven to keep close by the banks in our small boats, being all heartily afraid both of the billow and terrible current of the river. By the next morning we recovered the mouth of the river of Cumaca, where we left Captain Eynos and Edward Porter, to attend the coming of Captain Keymis over land; but when we entered the same, they had heard no news of his arrival, which bred in us a great doubt what might become of him. I rowed up a league or two farther into the river, shooting off pieces all the way, that he might know of our being there; and the next morning we heard them answer us also with a piece.

We took them aboard us, and took our leave of Putyma their guide, who of all others most lamented our departure, and offered to send his son with us into England, if we could have staid till he had sent back to his town. But our hearts were cold to behold the great rage and increase of Orinoco, and therefore departed, and turned towards the west, till we had recovered the parting of the three branches aforesaid, that we might put down the stream after the galley.

The next day we landed on the island of Assapana, (which divideth the river from that branch by which we went down to Emeria,) and there feasted ourselves with that beast which is called Armadilla, presented unto us before at Wimicapora; and the day following we recovered the galley at anchor at the port of Toparimaca, and the same evening departed with very foul weather and terrible thunder and showers, for the winter was come on very far. The best was, we went no less than one hundred miles a-day down the river; but by the way we entered, it was impossible to return, for that the river of Amana, being in the bottom of the bay of Guani-pa, cannot be sailed back by any means, both the breeze and current of the sea were so forcible; and therefore we followed a branch of Orinoco called Capuri, which entered into the sea eastward of our ships, to the end we might bear with them before the wind; and it was not without need, for we had by that way as much to cross of the main sea, after we came to the river's mouth, as between Graveline and Dover, in such boats as your Honours have heard.

To speak of what past homeward were tedious, either to describe or name any of the rivers, islands, or villages of the Tivitivas, which dwell on trees; we will leave all those to the general map; and to be short, when we arrived at the sea-side, then grew our greatest doubt, and the bitterest of all our journey forepassed; for I protest before God, that we

were in a most desperate estate : for the same night which we anchored in the mouth of the river of Capuri, where it falleth into the sea, there arose a mighty storm, and the river's mouth was at least a league broad, so as we ran before night close under the land with our small boats, and brought the galley as near as we could, but she had as much ado to live as could be, and there wanted little of her sinking and all those in her. For my own part, I confess, I was very doubtful which way to take ; either to go over in the pestered galley, there being but six feet water over the sands for two leagues together, and that also in the channel, and she drew five ; or to adventure in so great a billow, and in so doubtful weather, to cross the seas in my barge. The longer we tarried the worse it was ; and therefore I took Captain Gifford, Captain Calfield, and my cousin Greenville, into my barge ; and after it cleared up, about midnight we put ourselves to God's keeping, and thrust out into the sea, leaving the galley at anchor, who durst not adventure but by day-light ; and so being all very sober and melancholy, one faintly chearing another to shew courage, it pleased God that the next day about nine of the clock, we descried the island of Trinidad, and steering for the nearest part of it, we kept the shore till we came to Curiapan, where we found our ships at anchor, than which there was never to us a more joyful sight.

Now that it hath pleased God to send us safe to our ships, it is time to leave Guiana to the sun, whom they worship, and steer away towards the north ; I will therefore in a few words finish the discovery thereof. Of the several nations which we found upon this discovery I will once again make repetition, and how they are affected. At our first entrance into Amana, which is one of the outlets of Orinoco, we left on the right hand of us in the bottom of the bay, lying directly against Trinidad, a nation of inhuman Cannibals, which inhabit the rivers of Guanipa and

Berbeese; in the same bay there is also a third river, which is called Areo, which riseth on Paria side towards Cumana, and that river is inhabited with the Wikiri, whose chief town upon the said river is Sayma. In this bay there are no more rivers but these three before rehearsed, and the four branches of Amana; all which in the winter thrust so great abundance of water into the sea, as the same is taken up fresh two or three leagues from the land. In the passage towards Guiana, that is, in all those lands which the eight branches of Orinoco fashion into islands, there are but one sort of people, called Tivitivas, but of two casts, as they term them, the one called Ciawani, the other Warawesti, and those war one with the other.

On the hithermost part of Orinoco, as at Toparimaca, and Winicapora, those are of a nation called Neptos, and are of the followers of Carapana, lord of Emeria. Those between Winicapora and the port of Morequito, which standeth in Aromaia, and all those in the valley of Amariocopana are called Orinocoponi, and did obey Morequito, and are now followers of Topiawari. Upon the river of Caroli are the Canuri, which are governed by a woman, (who is inheritrix of that province,) who came far off to see our nation, and asked me divers questions of her majesty, being much delighted with the discourse of her majesty's greatness, and wondering at such reports as we truly made of her highness's many virtues. And upon the head of Caroli, and on the lake of Cassipa, are the three strong nations of the Cassipagotos. Right south into the land are the Capurepani, and Emparepani, and beyond those adjoining to Macureguarai (the first city of Inca,) are the Iwarawakeri: All these are professed enemies to the Spaniards, and to the rich Epuremei also. To the west of Caroli are divers nations of Cannibals, and of those Ewaipanonoma, without heads. Directly west are the Amapias and Anebas, which are also marvellous rich in

gold. The rest towards Peru we will omit. On the north of Orinoco, between it and the West Indies, are the Wikiri, Sami, and the rest before spoken of,—all mortal enemies to the Spaniard. On the south side of the main mouth of Orinoco are the Arwacas, and beyond them the Cannibals, and to the south of them the Amazons.

To make mention of the several beasts, birds, fishes, fruits, flowers, gums, sweet woods, and of their several religions and customs, would, for the first, require as many volumes as those of *Gesnerus*, and for the rest, another bundle of *Decades*. The religion of the Epuremei is the same which the Incas, emperors of Peru, used; which may be read in *Cieza*, and other Spanish stories,—how they believe the immortality of the soul, worship the sun, and bury with them alive their best beloved wives and treasure; as they likewise do in Pegu in the East Indies, and other places. The Orinococoni bury not their wives with them, but their jewels, hoping to enjoy them again. The Arwacas dry the bones of their lords, and their wives and friends drink them in powder. In the graves of the Peruvians, the Spaniards found their greatest abundance of treasure; the like also is to be found among these people in every province. They have all many wives, and the lords five-fold to the common sort; their wives never eat with their husbands, nor among the men, but serve their husbands at meals, and afterwards feed by themselves. Those that are past their younger years, make all their bread and drink, and work their cotton beds, and do all else of service and labour; for the men do nothing but hunt, fish, play, and drink, when they are out of the wars.

I will enter no further into discourse of their manners, laws, and customs; and because I have not myself seen the cities of Inca, I cannot avow on my credit what I have heard; although it be very likely, that the emperor Inca hath built and erected as magnificent palaces in Guiana as his ancestors did in Pe-

ru ; which were, for their riches and rareness, most marvellous, and exceeding all in Europe, and I think of the world, China excepted, which also the Spaniards (which I had) assured me to be of truth ; as also the nations of the borderers, who being but Salvaios to those of the inland, do cause much treasure to be buried with them ; for I was informed of one of the Caciques of the valley of Amariocapana, which had buried with him, a little before our arrival, a chair of gold, most curiously wrought, which was made either in Macareguarai adjoining, or in Manoa. But if we should have grieved them in their religion at the first, before they had been taught better, and have digged up their graves, we had lost them all ; and therefore I held my first resolution, that her majesty should either accept or refuse the enterprise, ere any thing should be done that might in any sort hinder the same. And if Peru had so many heaps of gold, whereof those Incas were princes, and that they delighted so much therein, no doubt but this which now liveth and reigneth in Manoa, hath the same humour, and I am assured hath more abundance of gold within his territory than all Peru and the West Indies.

For the rest, which myself have seen, I will promise these things that follow, and know to be true. Those that are desirous to discover and see many nations, may be satisfied within this river, which bringeth forth so many arms and branches leading to several countries and provinces, above two thousand miles east and west, and eight hundred miles south and north ; and of these the most either rich in gold or in other merchandizes. The common soldier shall here fight for gold, and pay himself, instead of penice, with plates of half a foot broad, whereas he breaketh his bones in other wars for provant and penury. Those commanders and chieftains that shoot at honour and abundance, shall find there more rich and beautiful cities, more temples adorn-

ed with golden images, more sepulchres filled with treasure, than either Cortez found in Mexico, or Pizzaro in Peru; and the shining glory of this conquest will eclipse all those so far-extended beams of the Spanish nation. There is no country which yieldeth more pleasure to the inhabitants, either for these common delights of hunting, hawking, fishing, fowling, and the rest, than Guiana doth. It hath so many plains, clear rivers, abundance of pheasants, partridges, quails, rails, cranes, herons, and all other fowl; deer of all sorts, porkes, hares, lions, tigers, leopards, and divers other sort of beasts, either for chace or food. It hath a kind of beast called cama, or anta, as big as an English beef, and in great plenty.

To speak of the several sorts of every kind, I fear would be troublesome to the reader, and therefore I will omit them,—and conclude, that, both for health, good air, pleasure, and riches, I am resolved it cannot be equalled by any region either in the East or West. Moreover, the country is so healthful, as one hundred persons and more, which lay,—without shift, most sluttishly, and were every day almost melted with heat in rowing and marching, and suddenly wet again with great showers, and did eat of all sorts of corrupt fruits, and made meals of fresh fish without seasoning, of tortugas, of lagartos, and of all sorts good and bad, without either order or measure, and besides lodged in the open air every night,—we lost not any one, nor had one ill-disposed, to my knowledge, nor found any callentura, or other of those pestilent diseases which dwell in all hot regions, and so near the equinoxial line.

Where there is store of gold, it is in effect needless to remember other commodities for trade; but it hath, towards the south part of the river, great quantities of Brazil wood, and of divers berries, that dye a most perfect crimson and carnation; and for painting, all France, Italy, or the East Indies, yield

none such; for the more the skin is washed, the fairer the colour appeareth, and with which even those brown and tawny women spot themselves, and colour their cheeks. All places yield abundance of cotton, of silk, of balsamum; (and of those kinds most excellent, and never known in Europe;) of all sorts of gums, of Indian pepper; and what else the country may afford within the land we know not, neither had we time to abide the trial and search. The soil besides is so excellent and so full of rivers, as it will carry sugar, ginger, and all those other commodities which the West Indies hath.

The navigation is short, for it may be sailed with an ordinary wind in six weeks, and in the like time back again, and by the way neither lee-shore, enemy's coast, rocks, nor sands; all which, in the voyages to the West Indies, and all other places, we are subject unto; as the channel of Bahama, coming from the West Indies, cannot be passed in the winter, and, when it is at the best, it is a perilous and fearful place: the rest of the Indies for calms and diseases very troublesome, and the Bermudas a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and storms.

This very year there were seventeen sail of Spanish ships lost in the channel of Bahama; and the great Philip, like to have sunk at the Bermudas, was put back to St Juan de Puerto Rico. And so it falleth out in that navigation every year for the most part, which in this voyage are not to be feared; for the time of the year to leave England is best in July, and the summer in Guiana is in October, November, December, January, February, and March; and then the ships may depart thence in April, and so return again into England in June, so as they shall never be subject to winter weather, either coming, going, or staying there; which, for my part, I take to be one of the greatest comforts and encouragements that can be thought on, having (as I have done) tasted in this voyage by the West Indies so many calms, so

much heat, such outrageous gusts, foul weather, and contrary winds.

To conclude, Guiana is a country that hath yet her maidenhead, never sacked, turned, nor wrought; the face of the earth hath not been torn, nor the virtue and salt of the soil spent by manurance; the graves have not been opened for gold, the mines not broken with sledges, nor their images pulled down out of their temples. It hath never been entered by any army of strength, and never conquered or possessed by any Christian prince. It is besides so defensible, that if two forts be built in one of the provinces which I have seen, the flood setteth in so near the bank, where the channel also lieth, that no ship can pass up but within a pike's length of the artillery, first of the one, and afterwards of the other: Which two forts will be a sufficient guard both to the empire of Inca, and to an hundred other several kingdoms, lying within the said river, even to the city of Quito in Peru.

There is therefore great difference between the easiness of the conquest of Guiana, and the defence of it being conquered, and the West or East-Indies. Guiana hath but one entrance by the sea (if it have that) for any vessels of burden; so as whosoever shall first possess it, it shall be found inaccessible for any enemy, except he come in wherries, barges, or canoes, or else in flat bottomed boats; and if he do offer to enter it in that manner, the woods are so thick two hundred miles together upon the rivers of such entrance, as a mouse cannot sit in a boat unhit from the bank. By land it is more impossible to approach, for it hath the strongest situation of any region under the sun, and is so environed with impassable mountains on every side, as it is impossible to victual any company in the passage; which hath been well proved by the Spanish nation, who, since the conquest of Peru, have never left five years free from attempting this empire, or discovering some way into it; and yet, of twenty-three several gen-

tllemen, knights, and noblemen, there was never any that knew which way to lead an army by land, or to conduct ships by sea, any thing near the said country. Orellano, of which the river of Amazons taketh name, was the first, and Don Antonio de Berreo (whom we displanted) the last; and I doubt much whether he himself, or any of his, yet know the best way into the said empire. It can therefore hardly be regained, if any strength be formerly set down, but in one or two places, and but two or three crumsters or galleys built and furnished upon the river within. The West-Indies hath many ports, watering-places, and landings; and nearer than three hundred miles to Guiana, no man can harbour a ship, except he know one only place, which is not learnt in haste, and which I will undertake there is not any one of my companies that knoweth, whosoever hearkened most after it.

Besides, by keeping one good fort, or building one town of strength, the whole empire is guarded; and whatsoever companies shall be afterwards planted within the land, although in twenty several provinces, those shall be able to reunite themselves upon any occasion, either by the way of one river, or be able to march by land without either wood, bog, or mountain: Whereas in the West-Indies there are few towns or provinces that can succour or relieve one the other, either by land or sea. By land, the countries are either desart, mountainous, or strong enemies; by sea, if any man invade to the eastward, those to the west cannot in many months turn against the breeze and easter-wind; besides, the Spaniards are therein so dispersed as they are nowhere strong, but in Nueva Hispania only; the sharp mountains, the thorns, and poisoned prickles, the sandy and deep ways in the vallies, the smothering heat and air, and want of water in other places, are their only and best defence; which (because those nations that invade them are not victualled or pro-

vided to stay, neither have any place to find adjoining) do serve them instead of good arms and great multitudes.

The West-Indies were first offered her Majesty's grandfather by Columbus, a stranger, in whom there might be doubt of deceit; and besides, it was then thought incredible that there were such and so many lands and regions never written of before. This empire is made known to her Majesty by her own vassal, and by him that oweth to her more duty than an ordinary subject; so that it shall ill sort with the many graces and benefits which I have received, to abuse her Highness either with fables or imaginations. The country is already discovered; many nations won to her Majesty's love and obedience; and those Spaniards which have latest and longest laboured about the conquest, beaten out, discouraged, and disgraced, which among these nations were thought invincible. Her Majesty may, in this enterprize, employ all those soldiers and gentlemen that are younger brethren, and all captains and chieftains that want employment, and the charge will be only the first setting out in victualling and arming them; for after the first or second year, I doubt not but to see in London a contractation-house of more receipt for Guiana than there is now in Seville for the West-Indies.

And I am resolved, that if there were but a small army a-foot in Guiana, marching towards Manoa, the chief city of Inca, he would yield her Majesty by composition so many hundred thousand pounds yearly, as should both defend all enemies abroad, and defray all expences at home; and that he should besides pay a garrison of three thousand or four thousand soldiers very royally to defend him against other nations; for he cannot but know how his predecessors, yea how his own great uncles Huascar and Atibalipa, sons to Guanacapa, emperor of Peru, were (while they contended for the empire) beaten out by the Spaniards; and that both of late years,

and ever since the said conquest, the Spaniards have sought the passages and entry of his country ;—and of their cruelties used to the borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which respects, no doubt but he will be brought to tribute with great gladness ; if not, he hath neither shot nor iron weapon in all his empire, and therefore may easily be conquered.

And I farther remember, that Berreo confessed to me and others, (which I protest before the majesty of God to be true,) that there was found among prophecies in Peru, (at such time as the empire was reduced to the Spanish obedience,) in their chiefest temples, amongst divers others which foreshewed the loss of the said empire, that from *Inglatierra* those Incas should be again in time to come restored, and delivered from the servitude of the said conquerors. And I hope, as we with these few hands have displanted the first garrison, and driven them out of the said country, so her Majesty will give order for the rest, and either defend it, and hold it as tributary, or conquer and keep it as empress of the same : For whatsoever prince shall possess it shall be greatest ; and if the King of Spain enjoy it, he will become irresistible. Her Majesty hereby shall confirm and strengthen the opinion of all nations as touching her great and princely actions ; and where the south border of Guiana reacheth to the dominion and empire of the Amazons, those women shall hereby hear the name of a virgin, which is not only able to defend her own territories and her neighbours, but also to invade and conquer so great empires, and so far removed.

To speak more at this time I fear would be but troublesome. I trust in God, this being true, will suffice ; and that he which is King of all kings and Lord of lords will put it into her heart, which is lady of ladies, to possess it ; if not, I will judge those men worthy to be kings thereof that by her grace and leave will undertake it of themselves.

AN ABSTRACT

Taken out of certain Spaniards Letters, concerning Guiana and the Countries lying upon the great River Orinoco ; with certain Reports also touching the same.

An Advertisement to the Reader.

THOSE letters, out of which the abstracts following are taken, were surprised at sea as they were passing for Spain in the year 1594, by Captain George Popham ; who the next year, and the same that Sir Walter Raleigh discovered Guiana, as he was in a voyage for the West-Indies, learnt also the reports annexed ; all which, at his return, being two months after Sir Walter, as also so long after the writing of the former discourse, hearing also of his discovery, he made known, and delivered to some of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and others ; the which, seeing they confirm in some part the substance, I mean the riches of that country, it hath been thought fit that they should be thereunto adjoined : wherein the reader is to be advertised, that although the Spaniards seem to glory much of their formal possession taken before Morequito, the lord of Aromaia, and others thereabouts, which thoroughly understood them not at that time, whatsoever the Spaniards otherwise pretend, yet, (according to the former discourse, and as also it is related by Cayworaco, the son of Topiawari, now chief lord of the said Aromaia, who was brought into England by Sir Walter Raleigh, and was present at the same possession and discovery of the Spaniards mentioned in these letters,) it appeareth, that after they were gone out of their country, the Indians then having farther consideration of the matter, and more than conjecture of their intent, having known and heard of their former cruelties upon the borderers and others of the Indians elsewhere, at their next coming, (there being ten of them sent and employed for a farther discovery) they were provided to receive and entertain them in another manner of sort than they had done before ; that is to say, they slew them and buried them in the country so much sought. They gave them by that means a full and complete possession, the which before they had but begun ; and so they are minded to do to as many Spaniards as come after. Other possession they have had none since ; neither do the Indians mean, as they protest, to give them any other. One other thing to be remembered is, that in these letters the Spaniards seem to call Guiana and other countries near it, bordering upon the river of Orinoco, by the name of Nuevo Dorado, because of the great plenty of gold there in most places to be found ; alluding also to the name of El Dorado, which was given by Martinez to the great city of Manoa, as is in the former treatise specified. This is all I thought good to advertise. As for some other matters, I leave them to the consideration and judgment of the indifferent reader.—W. R.

LETTERS

TAKEN AT SEA BY CAPTAIN GEORGE POPHAM, 1594.

*Alonso's Letter from the Gran Canaria to his Brother, being
Commander of S. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.*

THERE have been certain letters received here of late, of a land newly discovered, called Nuevo Dorado, from the sons of certain inhabitants of this city, who were in the discovery. They write of wonderful riches to be found in the said Dorado, and that gold there is in great abundance. The course to fall with it is fifty leagues to the windward of Marguerita.

*Alonso's Letter from thence to certain Merchants of S. Lucar,
concerning El Dorado.*

SIRS,—WE have no news worth the writing, saving of a discovery lately made by the Spaniards, in a new land called Nuevo Dorado, which is two days sailing to the windward of Margerita, there is gold in such abundance, as the like hath not been heard of. We have it for certain, in letters written from thence by some that were in the discovery, unto their parents here in this city. I purpose (God willing) to bestow ten or twelve days in search of the said Dorado, as I pass in my voyage towards Carthagená, hoping there to make some good sale of our commodities. I have sent you therewith part of the information of the said discovery, that was sent to his Majesty.

Part of the Copy that was sent to his Majesty, of the Discovery of Nuevo Dorado.

IN the river of Pato, otherwise called Orinoco, in the principal part thereof called Warismero, the

23d of April 1598, Domingo de Vera, master of the camp, and general for Antonio de Berreo, governor and captain-general for our lord the king betwixt the rivers of Pato and Papamene, alias Orinoco, and Marannon, and of the island of Trinidad, in presence of me, Rodrigo de Carança, register for the sea, commanded all the soldiers to be drawn together and put in order of battle, the captains and soldiers and master of the camp standing in the midst of them, said unto them, ‘Sirs, soldiers, and captains, you understand long since that our general, Antonio de Berreo, with the travel of eleven years, and the expence of more than an hundred thousand pesos of gold, discovered the royal provinces of Guiana and Dorado, of which he took possession to govern the same; but through want of his people’s health and necessary munition, he issued out at the island Marguerita, and from thence peopled Trinidad. But now they have sent me to learn out and discover the ways most easily to enter, and to people the said provinces, and where the camps and armies may best enter the same. By reason whereof, I intend so to do in the name of his Majesty and the said governor Antonio de Berreo; and in token thereof, I require you, Francis Carrillo, that you aid me to advance this cross that lieth here on the ground:’—which they set on end towards the east. And the said master of the camp, the captains, and soldiers, kneeled down, and did due reverence unto the said cross; and thereupon the master of the camp took a bowl of water and drank it off, and took more and threw it abroad on the ground: he also drew out his sword, and cut the grass off the ground and the boughs off the trees, saying, ‘I take this possession in the name of the King, Don Philip, our master, and of his governor, Antonio de Berreo.’ And because some make question of this possession, to them I answer, That in these our actions was present the Cacique or prin-

cipal, Don Antonio, otherwise called Morequito, whose land this was, who yielded consent to the said possession, was glad thereof, and gave his obedience to our lord the King, and in his name to the said governor Antonio de Berreo. And the said master of the camp kneeled down, being in his liberty, and all the captains and soldiers said, ‘ That the possession was well taken ; and that they would defend it with their lives upon whosoever would say the contrary.’ And the said master of the camp, having his sword drawn in his hand, said unto me, ‘ Register, that are here present, give me an instrument or testimonial to confirm me in this possession, which I have taken of this land, for the governor, Antonio de Berreo ; and if it be needful, I will take it anew.’ And I require you all that are present to witness the same ; and do further declare that I will go on, taking possession of of all the lands wheresoever I shall enter.

(Signed thus) DOMINGO DE VERA,
(And underneath) Before me, RODRIGO DE CARANCA,
Register of the Army.

AND in prosecution of the said possession, and the discovery of the way and provinces, the 27th of April of the said year, the master of the camp entered by little and little, with all the camp and men of war, more than two leagues into the inland, and came to a town of a principal, and conferring with him did let him understand, by means of Antonio Bisante, the interpreter, that his Majesty and Antonio de Berreo had sent him to take the said possession. And the said friar Francis Carillo, by the interpreter, delivered him certain things of our holy Catholic faith. To all which he answered, they understood him well, and would become Christians, and that with a very good will they should advance the cross in what part or place of the town it pleased them, for he was for the governor Antonio de Berreo, who was his master. Thereupon the said master of

the camp took a great cross, and set it on end towards the east, and requested the whole camp to witness it; and Domingo de Vera affirmed it thus—*It is well and firmly done.*

(Add underneath). Before me,

RODRIGO CARANCA, Register of the Army.

THE first of May they prosecuted the said possession and discovery to the town of Carapana. From thence the said master of the camp passed to the town of Toroco, whose principal is called Topiawari; being five leagues farther within the land than the first nation, and well inhabited. And to this principal, by means of the interpreter, they gave to understand, that his Majesty and the said corregidor commanded them to take the possession of that land; and that they should yield their obedience to his Majesty, and to his corregidor, and to the master of the camp in his name; and that in token thereof he would place a cross in the middle of his town. Whereunto the said Cacique answered, they should advance it with a very good will, and that he remained in the obedience of our lord the King, and of the said governor Antonio de Berreo, whose vassal he would be.

The fourth of May we came to a province above five leagues thence, of all sides inhabited with much people. The principal of this people came and met us in peaceable manner; and he is called Revato. He brought us to a very large house, where he entertained us well, and gave us much gold; and the interpreter asking him from whence that gold was, he answered, from a province not passing a day's journey off, where there are so many Indians as would shadow the sun, and so much gold as all yonder plain will not contain it. In which country (when they enter into the *borracheras*, or their drunken feasts) they take of the said gold in dust, and apoint themselves all over therewith, to make the

braver shew; and to the end the gold may cover them, they anoint their bodies with stamped herbs of a gluey substance;—and they have war with those Indians. They promised us that if we would go unto them, they would aid us; but they were such infinite numbers, as no doubt they would kill us. And being asked how they got the same gold, they told us they went to a certain down or plain, and pulled and digged up the grass by the root; which done, they took of the earth, putting it in great buckets, which they carried to wash at the river, and that which came in powder they kept for their *borracheras* or drunken feasts, and that which was in pieces they wrought into eagles.

The eighth of May we went from thence, and marched about five leagues. At the foot of a hill we found a principal, called Arataco, with three thousand Indians, men and women, all in peace, and with much victual, as hens and venison in great abundance, and many sorts of wine. He entreated us to go to his house, and to rest that night in his town, being of five hundred houses. The interpreter asked whence he had those hens. He said they were brought from a mountain, not passing a quarter of a league thence, where were many Indians, yea, so many as grass on the ground; and that these men have the points of their shoulders higher than the crowns of their heads, and had so many hens as was wonderful; and if we would have any, we should send them Jews' harps, for they would give for every one two hens. We took an Indian, and gave him five hundred harps; the hens were so many that he brought us as were not to be numbered. We said we would go thither. They told us they were now in their *borracheras*, or drunken feasts, and would kill us. We asked the Indian that brought the hens if it were true; he said it was most true. We asked him how they made their *borracheras*, or drunken beasts; he said, they had many eagles of gold hang-

ing on their breasts, and pearls in their ears, and that they danced, being all covered with gold. The Indian said unto us, if we would see them, we should give him some hatchets, and he would bring us of those eagles. The master of the camp gave him one hatchet, (he would give him no more, because they should not understand we went to seek gold,) he brought us an eagle that weighed twenty-seven pounds of good gold. The master of the camp took it, and shewed it to the soldiers, and then threw it from him, making shew not to regard it. About midnight came an Indian, and said unto him, Give me a pick-axe, and I will tell thee what the Indians with the high shoulders mean to do. The interpreter told the master of the camp, who commanded one to be given him. He then told us those Indians were coming to kill us for our merchandize. Hereupon the master of the camp caused his company to be set in order, and began to march. The eleventh day of May we went about seven leagues from thence to a province where we found a great company of Indians apparelled. They told us, that if we came to fight, they would fill up those plains with Indians to fight with us; but if we came in peace, we should enter and be well entertained of them, because they had a great desire to see Christians; and there they told us of all the riches that was. I do not here set it down, because there is no place for it; but it shall appear by the information that goeth to his majesty; for if it should be here set down, four leaves of paper would not contain it.

The Letter of George Burien Britton from the said Canaries unto his cousin, a Frenchman, dwelling in S. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.

SIR, and my very good cousin,—There came of late certain letters from a new discovered country, not far from Trinidad, which they write hath gold in abundance. The news seemeth to be very cer-

tain, because it passeth for good amongst the best of this city. Part of the information of the discovery that went to his majesty goeth inclosed in Alonso's letters;—it is a thing worth the seeing.

The Report of Domingo Martinez of Jamaica, concerning El Dorado.

He saith, that in 1593, being at Carthagená, there was a general report of a late discovery, called Nuevo Dorada; and that a little before his coming thither, there came a frigate from the said Dorado, bringing in it the portraiture of a giant all of gold, of weight forty-seven quintals, which the Indians there held for their idol. But, now admitting of Christianity and their obedience to the king of Spain, they sent their said idol unto him in token they were become Christians, and held him for their king. The company coming in the said frigate, reported gold to be there in most abundance, diamonds of inestimable value, with great store of pearl.

The Report of a Frenchman, called Bountillier, of Sherbrouke, concerning Trinidad and Dorado.

He saith, that being at Trinidad in 1591, he had of an Indian there a piece of gold of a quarter of a pound in exchange of a knife. The said Indian told him, he had it at the head of that river which cometh to Paracoa in Trinidad; and that within the river of Orinoco it was in great abundance. Also, in 1593, being taken by the Spaniards, and brought prisoner into the island of Madeira, (the place for his prison,) there came in this meantime a bark of forty guns from a new discovery, with two millions of gold; the company whereof reported gold in that place to be in great abundance, and called it El Nuevo Dorado. This gentleman passed from Spain in the bark; and having a cabin near a gentleman, one of the discoverers, that came from that place in the said bark,

had divers times conference with him ; and, amongst other things, of the great abundance of gold in the said Dorado, being, as they said, within the river of Orinoco.

Reports of certain Merchants of Rio de Hacha, concerning El Nuevo Dorado.

THEY said, (advancing the king's great treasure in the Indies,) that Nuevo Reyno yielded very many gold mines, and wonderful rich ; but lately was discovered a certain province, so rich in gold, as the report thereof may seem incredible, it is there in such abundance, and is called El Nuevo Dorado. Antonio de Berreo made the said discovery.

The Report of a Spaniard, captain with Berreo in the Discovery of El Nuevo Dorado.

THAT the information sent to the king was in every point truly said ; that the river Orinoco hath seven mouths, or outlets, into the sea, called *Las siete bocas de Drago* ; that the said river runneth far into the land, in many places very broad ; and that Antonio de Berreo lay at Trinidad, making head to go and conquer and people the said Dorado.

CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

VOYAGE TO GUIANA.

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In the list of Raleigh's writings, Mr Oldys* mentions a manuscript treatise with the above title, which he had seen nowhere, he says, 'but among the magnificent collections of Sir Hans Sloane.' This treatise is now published, for the first time, from an accurate copy of the manuscript which Mr Oldys had perused. † The manuscript is not said to be in Raleigh's hand-writing; but his name is affixed to it as its author, and there seems no reason to doubt that the piece is justly ascribed to him. It contains precisely the same statements, views, and reasonings, mixed with the same fables, which pervade the account published by himself of his voyage to Guiana. The great object in both was the same,---to recommend the colonizing of that region; but in this treatise, which must have been written at no great distance of time from the publication of the voyage, he appears to have had it more particularly in view to remove objections, and to develop his plan for subjecting and uniting Guiana to the crown of England. His reasoning upon this head seems to afford a satisfactory refutation of the opinion of those who imagine that he did not himself believe in the existence of *El Dorado*, and that he merely availed himself of that fable to give an alluring aspect to his favourite project. The reader will here find, that it was a material part of that project, to form an alliance with a sovereign whom he believed to be descended from the Incas of Peru, and to rule in a city and district of unequalled wealth in the interior of Guiana. His proposal to expel the Spaniards from that quarter, and even from Peru, by means of

* Life of Raleigh, p. 177.

† In Mus. Brit. Bibl. Sloan. 1223. Plat. xxi. D.

an alliance with this imaginary potentate, is one of the numerous circumstances connected with the history of *El Dorado*; the reader, who is inclined to smile at this instance of his credulity, should always recollect the period of time, and the many circumstances and testimonies by which this fable was then counted on and supported.

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CONSIDERATIONS

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TOUCHING the voyage to Guiana, it is to be considered, first, whether it be to be undertaken; secondly, the manner of subduing it; and, lastly, the means how to subdue it, and annex it to the crown imperial of the realm of England.

That it is to be undertaken, will appear, if it be proved to be, 1. Honourable; 2. Profitable; 3. Necessary; and, 4. With no great charge or difficulty accomplished.

I. It is honourable, both for that, by this means, infinite numbers of souls may be brought from their idolatry, bloody sacrifices, ignorance, and incivility, to the worshipping of the true God aright, and to civil conversation, and also their bodies freed from the intolerable tyranny of the Spaniards, whereunto they are already, or likely in short space to be, subjected, unless her excellent majesty, or some other Christian prince, do speedily assist, and afterward protect them in their just defensive wars against the violence of usurpers; which if it please her high-

ness to undertake, besides that presently it will stop the mouths of the Romish catholics, who vaunt of their great adventures for the propagation of the gospel, it will add great increase of honour to the memory of her majesty's name upon earth to all posterity, and in the end be rewarded with an excellent star-like splendency in the heavens, which is reserved for them that turn many unto righteousness, as the prophet speaketh.

II. Likewise it is profitable : for hereby the queen's dominions may be exceedingly enlarged, and this realm inestimably enriched with precious stones, gold, silver, pearl, and other commodities, which those countries yield, and (God giving good success to the voyage) an entrance made thereby to many other empires, (which, happily, may prove as rich as this,) and it may be to Peru itself, and the other kingdoms of which the Spaniards be now possessed in those parts and elsewhere.

III. Lastly, the necessity of attempting Guiana, in regard of our own security, (albeit no profit should redound thereby to the Indians or ourselves directly from those countries,) ought greatly to weigh with us : for if the Spaniard by the treasure of those kingdoms which he hath already, be able to trouble the better part of Christendom, what would he do if he were once established in Guiana, which is thought to be more rich than all other lands which he enjoyeth either in the East or West Indies? whereas, if her majesty were seised of it, he might be so kept occupied in those provinces, that he would not hastily threaten us with any more of his invincible navies.

But, although this voyage were never so honourable, profitable, or necessary for our estate to be undertaken, yet, if we had not some possibility for the effecting of our purpose, it were more meet to strengthen ourselves at home, than to weaken our

forces in seeking to annoy our enemy abroad. But such opportunity, and so many encouragements, do now offer themselves unto her highness, that (I suppose) there is no prince in the world but he would greatly strain himself rather than to omit the advantage of such a booty. Among others, these inducements are to be weighed,

1. The Borderers, who are said to be naturals, and to whom only the empire of Guiana doth of right appertain, are already prepared to join with us, having submitted themselves to the queen's protection both against the Spaniards and emperor of Guiana, who usurpeth upon them.

2. The Spaniards, for their oppressions and usurpations, are detested and feared both by the Guianians and borderers; by the former, because the Spaniards forced them to fly from their own country of Peru; and by the latter, by experience of the Spanish dealing towards themselves and their adjoining neighbours, so as it is reported, none do assist them, save the Arwacans, a vagrant, poor, and small people. But it is like, that all the countries of the continent, who are not yet enthralled to the Spaniards, and have heard of their outrages, and especially the Amazons, in regard of their sex, will be ready to aid her majesty against the Spaniards.

3. The voyage is short, being but six weeks sailing from England, and the like back again; which may so be contrived, as going, abiding, and returning, we may bestow a whole year without any winter at all by the way, no lee-shore, no sands, or enemy's coast.

4. No charge, but only at the first setting forth, which need not be great; especially if the course laid down in this treatise, or some such like, be taken; considering the country yieldeth store of corn, beasts, fowl, fish, and fruit, for victuals,—and steel and copper for the making of arms and ordnance; and among the Amapagotos and Caraccas horses

may be had, and in short time manned for our service in the wars.

5. It is thought the passage to it may be easily fortified by sea; and the country by nature is defended by land with mountains and multitudes of nations, that it is impossible in manner by land to be evicted, being once attained by us.

6. Though we are not greatly to rely upon prophecies, yet, if it were found in Peru, (as Don Antonio de Berreo told Sir Walter Raleigh,) among other prophecies,—that from Inglatierra the Inca should be restored to Peru, it may fall out to be true; (as many of their prophecies did both in Mexico and Peru, which indeed foreshewed the alteration of those empires,) at least the prophecy will greatly daunt the Spaniards, and make them afraid of the worst event in these employments.

7. If it be remembered, how the Spaniards have, without just title, or any wrong at all done to them by the harmless Indians, forcibly invaded and wrongfully detained their countries about one hundred years—committing barbarous and exquisite massacres, to the destruction of whole nations of people, (arising by estimation of some of account among them, and acquainted with their proceedings, in some few years, to the number of twenty millions of reasonable creatures, made to the image of God, and less harmful than the Spaniards themselves), whereby more fruitful land was laid waste and depopulated, than is in all Europe and some part of Asia; (in revenge whereof, their own religious men do make account, that the just God in judgement will one day horribly chasten, and peradventure wholly subvert and root out the Spanish nation from the world;)—again, if it be noted, that the Spaniards have above twenty several times in vain sought the conquest of Guiana, and that it doth, by the providence of the Almighty, now (as it were) prostrate herself before her majesty's feet, the most potent enemy that the Spaniard

hath ; not only entreating, but by unvaluable offers and unanswerable reasons, alluring, even urging and forcing her highness to accept it under her allegiance ;—who would not be persuaded, that now at length, the great Judge of the world hath heard the sighs, groans, lamentations, tears, and blood of so many millions of innocent men, women, and children,—afflicted, robbed, reviled, branded with hot irons, roasted, dismembered, mangled, stabbed, whipped, racked, scalded with hot oil, suet, and hogs grease, put to the strappado, ripped alive, beheaded in sport, drowned, dashed against the rocks, famished, devoured by mastiffs, burned, and by infinite cruelties consumed,—and purposeth to scourge and plague that cursed nation, and to take the yoke of servitude from that distressed people, as free by nature as any Christian ? In contemplation of all which things, who would not be encouraged to proceed in this voyage, having in a manner none other enemies but these Spaniards, abhorers of God and man ; being provoked by so many allurements, occasions, reasons, and opportunities, in a most just cause,—the safety of our dread sovereign, of ourselves, and of a great part of the Christian world thereupon depending ?

Now, having proved that the voyage for Guiana is to be undertaken,—that there is a full hope of good success therein, with great honour and profit to her majesty and to her successors, and to all the subjects of her dominions,—It cometh next to be discussed, in what manner it is most convenient for us to labour to have the empire of Guiana subdued, and united to the crown of England ; which must be, either by expelling the usurping Inca of Manoa from Guiana, under the right and title of the naturals, and their free election, taking possession of the tassel-royal, or whatsoever other tokens or ensigns of the empire are attained among them, to the use of her majesty and her successors ; or else, only by way of

composition, to draw the Inca to do homage, and to hold of her majesty, as her vassal, by services, by way of honourable covenants, upon good considerations hereafter in this treatise to be expressed. The effecting of the former seemeth more profitable, but the latter more safe and more convenient, as our case standeth, which I do gather by these reasons following :

1. If we seek to depose the emperor of Guiana, then we shall lose the advantage of him to attempt the recovery of Peru from the Spaniards, or otherwise to invade the Spanish dominions next affronting.

2. It is greatly to be feared, that notwithstanding we might, by the help of the borderers, overthrow him, yet, in the end, he would rather join with the Spaniards; (who would be ready to win him unto them by fair promises,) than suffer us to rest quiet in Guiana.

3. We shall be much weaker, and less able to resist the puissance of the Spaniards, if we have not the assurance of the Guianians, and their assistance.

4. By setting the Guianians against us, we shall never reduce them to the obedience of the Gospel, which ought to be one principal respect in our endeavours.

5. We may have sufficient profit, both by the continual traffic, and by the said covenants to be agreed upon by the Guianians, without the absolute conquest of Guiana.

6. And, lastly, This agreeth best with the prophecy, which the Spaniards have among them, for the recovery of Peru by the Inca.

Thus much of the manner of subduing the Guianians : The means of procuring this come next to be considered ; which ought to be just before God, according to our Christian profession ; and honourable among men, according to the accustomed proceedings of our English nation : for it were far better, with

the help of our confederates, under the defence of the Almighty, to strengthen ourselves in our own countries, than to purchase our security by assaulting Guiana by such practices as the Spaniards used in the conquest of the Indies. Therefore, the precedent of their dishonourable actions may not serve for our instructions. For which purpose, I lay down this as a maxim, (which yet, upon better advice, I am ready to retract,) that no Christians may lawfully invade with hostility any heathenish people not under their allegiance, to kill, spoil, and conquer them, only upon pretence of their infidelity. My proofs and reasons be these :

1. In the beginning, God having made the world, reserving the heavens for his throne of Majesty, gave the earth and all therein, with the benefits issuing from the sun, the moon, and all the stars to the sons of men, as is manifest by the blessing of God upon Adam,¹ afterwards renewed unto Noah and his descendants;² confirmed in part by God himself to the posterity of wicked Ismael;³ after to Nebuchadnezer in these words:⁴ *I have made the earth, man, and the beast upon the ground, by my great power, and have given it to whom it pleaseth me ; but now I have given it into the hands of Nebuchadnezer, the king of Babel, my servant, &c.*—To the like effect saith Daniel to Nebuchadnezer:⁵ *O king, thou art king of kings, for the Lord of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, strength, glory, &c.*—By all which, it seemeth very liquid and clear, that by God's ordinance, the believers are not the only lords of the world, as being not able to people the twentieth part thereof; but that, by the gift of God, idolaters, pagans, and godless persons, be instituted to the possession, and have a capacity to take, and an ability to hold a property in lands and goods, as well as they; which, being manifested by the former allegations, it is against the rules of

¹ Gen. i. 28. ² Gen. ix. 1. 7. ³ Gen. i. 20. ⁴ Jer. xxvii. 5. ⁵ Dan. ii. 37.

justice (which giveth to every man his dues) to deprive them of their goods, lands, liberties, or lives, without just title thereunto.

2. When Jephtha, by his ambassadors, shewed to the king of Ammon, the right that the Israelites had of invading the possessions of Ammon, he maketh not his title from pretence of their idolatry or gentilism, but because the God of Israel had given those lands unto them. *The God of Israel (saith he) hath cast out the Amorites before his people of Israel, and wouldest thou possess it? Wouldest not thou possess that which Chemosh thy God giveth thee to possess? So whomsoever the Lord our God driveth out before us, them will we possess*¹. But God hath given no Christians any such warrant, therefore they may not do the like, as neither the good kings of Israel or Judah used to do, unless upon just cause of wrongs from the idolaters received.

3. Christians are commanded to do good unto all men, and to have peace with all men,—to do as they would be done unto,—to give none offence to one or other;—and, lastly, Christ willed the disciples to pay tribute to Cæsar, an infidel;—he refused a worldly kingdom as not appertaining unto him,—he reprov'd his apostles when they desired that fire might come down from heaven to destroy the Samaritans, who refused to entertain him, saying, *Ye know not what spirit ye are of; the Son of Man is not come to destroy mens lives, but to save them*².—Therefore no Christian prince, under pretence of Christianity only, and of forcing of men to receive the gospel, or to renounce their impieties, may attempt the invasion of any free people not under their vassalage; for Christ gave not that power to Christians as Christians, which he himself, as sovereign of all Christians, neither had, nor would take.

4. By the law of nature and nations, we agree that prescription or priority of possession only, giv-

¹ Judg. xi. 23. 24.

² Luke ix. 56.

eth right unto lands or goods, against all strangers, indefensible by any but the true owners.

5. We ourselves hold it unreasonable that the pope, upon colour of religion only, should give away, or that any prince should therefore presume to intrude upon our dominions; or that any Protestant should encroach upon the papists, the Moscovites, or Turks, upon the like occasion; or that an excommunicate person, (whom Christ denounceth to be an heathen;) or a Mahometist, coming into our country for traffic; or an alien atheist, (if any were among us,) not seducing our people, should be assaulted in goods or person by any private man, or other whomsoever, under whose jurisdiction he is not placed. The like rule in proportion is to be observed for not invading any idolater's dominions.

6. To be short,—All sound Christians, for the semblable practice, do repute the kings of Castile and Portugal mere usurpers in Africa and America. Among the Papists also, Bellarmine avoweth³, that Pope Alexander VI. never did, nor could give the foresaid kings the Indies to be conquered and possessed, but only to be converted to the faith by them. And the matter being called into question in Spain between the Lord-bishop of Chiapa and the Duke of Sepulveda, the two universities of Salamanca and Alcala, and also (if I mistake not mine authority) the LL. of the assembly who were appointed to hear the controversy debated, did resolve that such kind of invasive wars upon infidels could not be justified; howsoever the Spaniards (this notwithstanding) neither had, nor yet have, any mind to wave the possession which by violent intrusion they have of the Indies.

Thus much to confirm that opinion before delivered, that Christians may not warrantably conquer infidels upon pretence only of their infidelity. But I hold it very reasonable and charitable to send preach-

³ De Rom. Pontif. 1. 5. c. 2.

era, safely guarded, if need be, to offer infidels the glad tidings of the gospel ; which being refused by them, (or, peradventure, the infidels giving hard measure to the preachers,) this can ground no sufficient quarrel to overrun their countries. I need to speak the less of this, because her Majesty is already invited to take upon her the seigniory of Guiana by the naturals thereof, whose antient right to the empire may be followed, if it be thought convenient. But because, in my simple judgment, (upon the former reasons,) it is more safe and commendable for us rather to seek to bring Guiana to become tributary, than to conquer it, I will pursue that conclusion,—shewing how, with least charge and greatest facility, we may best advantage ourselves without a conquest. This may be compassed by these two means : first, by bringing the borderers, and the Epuremei and Guianians to an unity among themselves ; secondly, into a league with us against the Spaniards and their adherents, if, haply, the adherents cannot be drawn from them ; which greatly importeth to be laboured by us by discrediting the Spaniards among them ; which must be by acquainting them with the usurpations, insolencies, and tyrannies of the Spaniards, before remembered, upon their kindred in Peru, upon their neighbours, and upon whomsoever, either by fraud or force, they can fasten possession. For proof whereof, Bartol. de las Casas' book of the Spanish cruelties, with fair pictures, or at least a large table of pictures, expressing the particularities of the cruelties there specified, (neatly wrought for the better credit of our workmanship, and their easier understanding,) would be sent to the Inca and his Caciques by some interpreters, that they may publish them among their vassals ; and to all the estates of the confining countries round about, that they may be all (as much as is possible) conjointly linked, and exasperated against the Spaniards ; and by informing

them that the Spaniards do hold their religion of the pope, the great enchanter, or cozener, and troubler of the world, who sent them first to invade those countries; who teacheth them to break all faith, promises, oaths, covenants, with all such as be not of their own religion, so far forth as may serve his and their turn; who giveth his followers dispensations to steal, rob, rebel, and murder; and likewise pardoneth for money whatsoever wrongs or villanies are by them committed.

On the other side, they may be wrought to affect us by these allurements:

1. By presents sent from her Majesty to the Emperor and principal Caciques. 2. By shewing them the commodities of our countries. 3. By due commending of her Majesty and this state unto them;—as that she is a most gracious, merciful, and just princess, relieving sundry distressed nations, both in her own and foreign countries, against the Spaniards, in the Indies, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, and elsewhere; for illustration whereof, the maps containing Sir Francis Drake's exploits at St. Domingo, &c. is to be shewn unto them. Furthermore, that she is of great magnificence and puissance, her countries populous, rich, warlike, and well provided of ships as any state in the northern world: for manifesting of this, the maps of the several shires in England, and the large map of the city of London, should be conveyed unto them. Also, that her Majesty hath many mighty allies and confederates ready to aid her against the Spaniards, (if need were,) as the Frenchmen, Germans, &c.; and the maps of their countries to be delivered unto them; that the king of Spain made choice among all other princes christened, as a matter of high advancement, to join in marriage with her Majesty's sister and predecessor; and that her Majesty's religion is far differing from the Spanish, maintaining truth, justice, and faithfulness; prohibiting all murders, treasons, adul-

teries, thefts, and whatsoever correspondeth not with equity and reason. 4. Lastly, their favours are to be won by entering into a league with them, containing conditions to be performed by them in consideration of honourable performances by us to be rendered and made.

The conditions to be required of them are these: First, to renounce their idolatry, and to worship the only true God; unto which unless they will yield, it may be doubted whether we, being Christians, may join with them in arms against the Spaniards or not. Some proofs moving this doubt I will briefly offer, with submission to sound judgment.

Jehosaphat having aided in battle an idolatrous king, was checked by a prophet sent from God to him, saying, *Wouldest thou help the wicked, and hate them that love the Lord? Therefore, for this thing, the wrath of the Lord is upon thee*⁴. Likewise, Amaziah, king of Judah, hired a hundred thousand men, Israelites (who had fallen from God by idolatry,) to join with him in wars against the Edomites; and a man of God came unto him, and said, *Let not the army of Israel go with thee; for the Lord is not with Israel*,⁵ &c. Whereupon, Amaziah dismissed the Israelites, and discomfited the Edomites.

1. *Objection.* Asa, by the help of idolaters, vanquished his enemies. 1 Kings, xv. 20.

Answer. Asa is reprov'd for this, notwithstanding it had pleased God to give him the victory; 2 Chron. xvi. 7. The like is to be answered for Hernando Cortes and others, who conquered by the help of some Indian idolaters.

2d *Objection.* It will require great time to convert them from their idolatry.

Answer. It shall be sufficient, at the first, to assemble the Caciques, to persuade their people to abandon their idols, and to surcease their bloody sacrifices; also to take their promise to yield to the gos-

⁴ 2 Chron. xix. 2.

⁵ 2 Chron. xxv. 2.

pel, (which should be summarily propounded, as it was by the Bishop Vincent de Valverde to Atabaliba,) and to draw their people thereunto, both now and hereafter further as they shall be instructed.

3d Objection. Peradventure they will not condescend to embrace our religion and ejure their own.

Answer. First; being in distress, they will rather yield to any condition than be deprived of our protection; especially, if we shew unto them that our God will not prosper us if we should do otherwise. Again; experience in other places giveth great hope, that little persuasion will serve to effect this matter. Wheresoever Cortes travelled in Montezuma's countries, the people did at the first, without contradiction, give him leave to demolish their idols; only (as I remember) in Tlascala, for a time, they made some scruple of it. In China, at the preaching of some friars, the people were readily persuaded to relinquish their idolatry; saving they durst not profess the gospel openly, fearing the magistrates, who are jealous of innovations. When Cabrall was sent into the East Indies by the king of Portugal, he happened to discover Brazil, where the inhabitants, seeing the Portuguese kneeling at prayers, they likewise kneeled after the same manner, making show of praying. But of all other, the lord-bishop of Chiapa (who lived many years among the Indies) avoweth that they were teachable, and capable of all good learning, very apt to receive the catholic faith, and to be instructed in good manners, having less incumbrance in attaining thereunto than any other; and that, after they once tasted of religion, they were very much enflamed, ardent, and importune, to understand the matter of faith; delivering their idols to the religious men to be burned; bringing their children to be baptized and catechized; sending for them sometimes fifty leagues, and receiving them as angels sent from heaven. Which considered, we may presume

the like of the Guianians. But if, after deliberation, it shall be found agreeable for us to join with them before their conversion, then this first condition, and the objections thereupon arising, need less to trouble us.

The second condition should be, that the Inca of Manoa, by the consent of his Lords and Caciques, surrender the ensigns of his empire to her majesty, to be returned to him again, to be holden in chief of the crown of England: Also, her majesty's lieutenants to direct the Guianians in their conclusions both of war and peace; rendering yearly to her majesty and her successors a great tribute; allotting to her use some rich mines and rivers of gold, pearl, silver, rocks of precious stones, &c. with some large fruitful countries for the planting of her colonies.

Lastly; for assurance of these conditions, they shall give special hostage, to be sent into England; which being civilled and converted here, upon their return and receiving of others in their rooms, they may be matched in marriage with English women. They shall also allow some choice place for fortifications; and moreover, bind themselves by the oaths and ceremonies of their countries, that they will be loyal and faithful in the premises, and in all other things, to her majesty and her successors, and to her and their highness generals for the time being.

The offers to be made unto the Guianians, and performed on our part, may be these: 1. First, that we will defend them, their wives, children, and countries, against the Spaniards and all other intruders. 2. Then, that we will help them to recover their country of Peru. 3. That we will instruct them in liberal arts of civility behoveful for them, that they may be comparable to any Christian people. 4. And, lastly, that we will teach them the use of weapons; how to pitch their battles; how to make armour and ordnance; and how to manage horses for service in the wars.

This latter point (to say the truth) is the principal scope whereunto, in this treatise, I have aimed, containing, in short, a course of expedition most fit to be followed, (though never yet executed, so far as I can hear or read of in any of the conquests of the East or West Indies,) yet necessary to be now used by us, our case being far different from the former enterprises in the New World; for we are not to go as Cortes, Pizarro, or the other conquerors, against a naked, unarmed people, (whose wars are resembled by some to the childrens play called *Jogo di Canne*,) but we are to encounter with the Spaniards, armed in all respects, and as well practised as ourselves. Therefore, we must instruct the Indians in the use and skill of making armour; and that for these causes:

1. We cannot spare a sufficient number to send to the conquest, or at least having got possession of Guiana, we cannot, by the help of the naked Indians, nor safely by the aid of foreign forces to be hired, long enjoy it; for the Spaniards will gather their strength from Spain, Peru, Nova Hispania, Nuevo Reyno de Granada, the Islands, and from other their dominions, to dislodge us, we being far from our supplies, which may be intercepted, or we so busied at home that we cannot send any.

2. If we do not take this course, it is not unprobable that some other potentate will at length think upon it, and use it to our great trouble and too late repentance.

3. Besides, if this policy be not used, we cannot set the Guianians on work to invade the countries circumjacent, possessed by the Spaniards; which thing (under favour) would tend as much to our security as any other in reason to be devised. Neither can we have conveniently sufficient armour and ordnance, unless we take the help of the Guianians to make some; who have brass, and iron, and many goldsmiths of rare science, (as may be thought,) who

would be very capable to receive information from our engineers, armourers, and artificers, which, together with some ingenious persons, (experimented for necessary new inventions) are to be carried thither for that purpose.

1st Objection. But you will say, We want armour to furnish them presently.

Answer. It were not amiss, at the first, to adventure somewhat extraordinary, seeing, upon our arrival, we may have present payment for it, and also money to send for more. And one of our armourers, or gunmakers, might with one labour teach twenty Guianians, who would quickly conceive and imitate their actions.

2d Objection. If we arm and instruct them, they will expel us, as able to defend themselves without us.

Answer 1. The Indians, for the most part, are a people very faithful, humble, patient, peaceable, simple, without subtlety, malice, quarrels, strife, rancour, or desire of revenge, — as meek as lambs, as harmless as children of ten or twelve years; as the bishop of Chiapa (a man, as seemeth, of good credit) of his own experience, doth witness, and we ourselves, in part, have had the like proof of them. So as they having received such great benefits as we shall confer upon them, they giving also sufficient security by hostage, oaths, &c. unto us, we cannot presume that they will be so ungrateful as to rise against us; or if some do, doubtless we shall find others that will stick unto us. The history of the Tlascaltecas faithfulness to Hernando Cortes, who had prepared fifty thousand men to send for his successor, being almost vanquished by the Mexicans, who came to meet him in his return, — providing twenty thousand men and women to bring his retinue and victual, who received him with weeping, mourning, and lamentation, for the damage done unto him by his enemies, who entertained him in their city, che-

risking him and his men, being weak, weary, maimed, and almost famished, in better sort than they could have found in their own countries, (when the Tlascaltecas, if they had been as faithless as many Christians are, might, by delivering him into the hands of the Mexicans, have purchased their peace and liberty ;)—the history, I say, of these and such like kindnesses shewed to the merciless Spaniards, do argue the great love and faithfulness of the poor Indian people, where they once have conceived a good opinion.

2. We may make choice to arm and instruct such of them as we may find most trusty and most prone to Christianity, reserving the powder and shot in our own custody, allowing them only so much as will serve their present use from time to time, concealing also the secret of making powder, or some other necessaries, from them, till we have full trial of their fidelities, that they may still stand in need of us and of our counsel.

Sd Objection. By our example, the Spaniards, or some other civil people, will arm the Indians, and so displant us.

Answer. We shall have great advantage in beginning this course before others. The Spaniards dare hardly trust any Indians with armour. In a short time the Guianians may be instructed, trained, and consequently armed ; and we by them, and they by us, defended with greater facility, (being in their own country,) than oppugned by any others. As we see the estates of Christendom can defend their own dominions amid the forces of their armed adversaries.

Besides this easy and compendious way of possessing Guiana by arming the inhabitants, there is a special choice to be had in sending preachers of good discretion and behaviour for their conversion ; (who may revive the old order of Christian churches in

speaking by interpreters ;¹) also of well-governed soldiers and artisans, that will not wrong the Indians in their persons, women, or possessions. To that end, a severity of martial discipline is to be used in the open presence of the Guianians, (being made acquainted with the cause of the punishment,) with full satisfaction for all injuries which, by the rude sort, shall be offered. This will be a singular mean to work their conversion,—to procure their loving affections,—and to oblige them in assured loyalty to her majesty : otherwise, if our men practise upon them the Spanish cruelties, (which God forbid !) besides the wrath of God, and the utter overthrow of the whole service to be feared, it will fall out with the Guianians as with the other Indians of the conquered nations, who cursed the God of the Spaniards,—mourning after their own idols, thinking them better than the Spanish God, whom they held to be the worst, the most unjust, the most wicked, of all gods, because he had such servants ; and the Spanish king the most unjust and cruel of all princes, supposing he did feed on human flesh and blood, because he sent among them such ill subjects ; as Barth. de las Casas expressly certified his lordship the Emperor Charles the Fifth in his suit unto him for redress of the horrible outrages perpetrated by his Spaniards against the Indians.

To conclude : If it might seem fit to her excellent majesty, that four or five hundred men (whereof some to be leaders, some casters of great ordnance, some gunners, some armourers, &c.) were landed by hundreds in several places next confining to Peru, Nova Hisp. Castilia del Oro, Nuevo Reyno, Terra Florida, or elsewhere, as shall be most convenient for provision of armour and munition, to furnish the people with instructions to set them to war against the Spaniards, it is greatly to be hoped, that in a

short time the Spaniards should be so occupied in defending their borders, that we might rest more safely here in England and in Guiana ; and also further matter of such grand consequence might be accomplished, the like whereof has not come to the knowledge of the world since the conquest of the Indies. Always provided, that this policy of arming the inhabitants, as a special secret, be discreetly carried and concealed until it be ripened and brought into open action.

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ORDERS

TO THE

COMMANDERS OF THE FLEET.

ORDERS

TO THE

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SIR WALTER RALEGH set sail from the Thames upon his last voyage to Guiana on the 28th of March in the year 1617. His fleet then consisted of seven ships, but before he left Plymouth he was joined by as many more. When at this port, from whence he sailed in the end of June or beginning of July, he issued his *orders* to the commanders of his fleet. We are indebted for the preservation of these *Orders* to a small pamphlet, entitled, ‘*News of Sir Walter Raleigh, sent from a gentleman of his fleet from Caliana, on the coast of Guiana.*’ It was printed at London in 1618; and has at the end the initials R. M. In this tract, evidently written with a view to recommend Raleigh’s project of colonizing Guiana,* the author introduces the *Orders* in the following terms:—‘I will now acquaint you with some particulars touching the general government of our fleet; which, although other men, doubtless, in their voyages, have in some measure observed, yet in all the great volumes which have been written touching voyages, there is no precedent of so godly, severe, and martial a government; which not only in itself is laudable and worthy of imitation, but also fit to be written and engraven in every man’s soul that covets to do honour to his king and country in the like attempts. The true copy of which laws, articles, and especial commandments, are those which follow, and at this present we observe.’ †

* ‘This part of Guiana, in which we now are, is,’ says this adventurer, ‘a very paradise; and so excellent in all perfections and beauties, that nature seems here only to have her temple. We have even now (being the month of November) a much more delicate summer than is in England at mid-summer; the sun and air is wholesome and pleasant; the trees and ground so bravely flourishing, and every thing in general so full of fruitful promise, that more cannot be by man desired.’—*News of Sir Walter Raleigh*, 4to, 1618, p. 44.

† *News, &c.* p. 17, 18.

ORDERS

To be observed by the Commanders of the Fleet and Land Companies, under the charge and conduct of Sir WALTER RALEGH, Knight, bound for the South Parts of America or elsewhere. Given at Plymouth in Devon, the third of May 1617.

FIRST, Because no action nor enterprise can prosper (be it by sea or land) without the favour and assistance of Almighty God, the Lord and strength of hosts and armies, you shall not fail to cause divine service to be read in your ship morning and evening; in the morning before dinner, and at night before supper; or at least (if there be interruption by foul weather) once the day, praising God every night with singing of a psalm at the setting of the watch.

Secondly, You shall take especial care that God be not blasphemed in your ship; but that, after admonition given, if the offenders do not refrain themselves, you shall cause them of the better sort to be fined out of their adventures; by which course, if no amendment be found, you shall acquaint me withal: For if it be threatened in the scriptures, that 'the curse shall not depart from the house of the swearer,' much less from the ship of the swearer.

Thirdly, No man shall refuse to obey his officer in all that he is commanded for the benefit of the journey. No man (being in health) shall refuse to wait his turn, as he shall be directed; the sailors by the

master and boatswain, the landmen by their captain, lieutenant, and others.

You shall make in every ship two captains of the watch ; who shall make choice of two soldiers every night to search between the decks, that no fire nor candle-light be carried about the ship after the watch set ; nor that any candles be burning in any cabin without a lanthorn, and that neither but while they are to make themselves unready. For there is no danger so inevitable as the ship's firing, which may as well happen by taking of tobacco between the decks, and therefore forbidden to all men but aloft the upper deck.

You shall cause the landmen to learn the names and places of the ropes, that they may assist the sailors in their labours upon the decks, though they cannot go up to the tops and yards.

You shall train and instruct your sailors (so many as shall be found fit) as you do your landmen, and register their names in the lists of your companies, making no difference of professions, but that all be esteemed sailors and all soldiers ; for your troops will be very weak when you come to land, without the assistance of your sea-faring men.

You shall not give chace, or send aboard any ship, but by order from the general. And if you come near any ship in your course, if she be belonging to prince or state in league or amity with his majesty, you shall not take any thing from them by force, upon pain of punishment as a pirate ; although in manifest extremity or want you may (agreeing for the price) relieve yourselves with things necessary, giving bond for the same ; provided that it be not to the disfurnishing of any such ship, whereby the owner or merchants be endangered for the ship or goods.

You shall every night fall a-stern the general's ship, and follow his light, receiving instructions in the morning what course to hold ; and if you shall at any time be separated by foul weather, you shall re-

ceive certain billets, sealed up ; the first to be opened on this side the North Cape, if there be cause ; the second to be opened at the South Cape ; the third after you shall pass twenty-three degrees ; and the fourth from the height of Cape de Verd.

If you discover any sail at sea, either to windward or to leeward of the admiral, or if any two or three of our fleet shall discover any such sail which the admiral cannot discern ; if she be a great ship, and but one, you shall strike your main-top-sail and hoist it again, so often as you shall judge it to be an hundred tons of burthen ; as, if you judge her to be two hundred tons, to strike and hoist twice ; if three hundred, thrice ; and so answerable to her greatness.

If you discern a small ship, you shall do the like with your fore-top-sail ; but if you discover many great ships, you shall not only strike your main-top-sail often, but put out your ensign in the main-top ; and if such ships or fleet go large before the wind, you shall also (after your signs given) go large, and stand as any of the fleet doth ; I mean no longer than that you may judge the admiral and the rest have seen your signs and your so standing. And if you went large at the time of the discovery, you shall hale oft your sheets for a little time, and then go large again, that the rest may know that you go large, to shew us that the ships or fleet discovered keep that course ; so you shall do if the ships or fleet discovered have their tacks aboard ; namely, if you had also your tacks aboard at the time of the discovery, you shall bear up for a little time, and after you hale your sheet oft again, to shew us what course the ship or fleet holds.

If you discover any ship or fleet by night, if the ship or fleet be to windward of you, and you to windward of the admiral, you shall presently bear up to give us knowledge ; but if you think you might speak with her, then you shall keep your loof, and

shoot off a piece of ordnance to give us knowledge thereby.

For a general rule, let no man presume to shoot off any piece of ordnance but in discovering a ship or fleet by night, or by being in danger of the enemy, or in danger of fire, or in danger of sinking; it may be unto us all a most certain intelligence of some matter of importance, and you shall make us know the difference by this; for if you give chase, and being near a ship, you shoot to make her strike, we shall see and know you shoot to that end, (if it be by day) if by night, we shall then know that you have seen a ship or fleet more than our own; and if you suspect we do not hear the first piece then you may shoot a second, but not otherwise; and you must take almost a quarter of an hour between your two pieces. If you be in danger by a leak, (I mean in present danger) you shall shoot two pieces presently one after another; and if in danger of fire, three pieces presently one after another.

In foul weather every man shall fit his sails to keep company with the rest of the fleet, and not run so far a head by day, but that he may fall astern the admiral before night. In case we should be set upon by sea, the captain shall appoint sufficient company to assist the gunners, after which, if the fight require it, the cabins between the deck shall be taken down, and all beds and sacks employed for bulwarks; the musketeers of every ship shall be divided under captains, or other officers, some for the fore-castle, others for the waste, the rest for the poop, where they shall abide, if they be not otherwise directed. The gunners shall not shoot any great ordnance at other distance than point-blank. An officer or two shall be appointed to take care that no loose powder be carried between the decks, or near any lintstock or match in hand. You shall saw divers hogsheads in two parts, and, filled with water, set them aloft the decks. You shall divide your carpen-

ters, some in the hold, if any shot come between wind and water, and the rest between the decks, with plates of lead, plugs, and all things necessary laid by them. You shall also lay by your tubs of water, certain wet blankets to cast upon and choke any fire. The master and boatswain shall appoint a certain number of sailors to every sail, and to every such company a master's mate, boatswain's mate, or quarter master, so as when every man knows his charge and place things may be done without noise or confusion, and no man speak but the officers: As for example, if the master or his mate bid heave out the main-top-sail, the master's mate, boatswain's mate, or quarter-master, which hath charge of that sail, shall with his company perform it without calling out to others; and so for the fore-sail, fore-top-sail, sprit-sail, and the rest; the boatswain himself taking no particular charge of any sail, but overlooking all, and seeing every one do his duty.

No man shall board a ship of the enemy without order, because the loss of a ship to us is of more importance than of ten to the enemy; as also by one man's boarding all our fleet may be engaged, it being a great dishonour to lose the least of our fleet. Every ship being under the lee of the enemy, shall labour to recover the wind, if the admiral endeavour it, and we find an enemy to leeward of us, the whole fleet shall follow the admiral, vice-admiral, or other leading ships, within musket-shot of the enemy, giving so much liberty to the leading ships after her broad-side discovered, as she may stay and trim her sails, then is the second ship to give her side, and the third and fourth; which done, they shall all take as the first ship, and giving the enemy the other side, shall keep him under a perpetual volley. Thus must you do to the windermost ship of the enemy, which you shall batter in pieces, or force her to bear up and entangle the rest, falling foul one of another, to their great confusion.

If the admiral give chase and be the headmost man, the next ship shall take up his boat if other order be not given ; or if any other ship be appointed to give chase, the next ship, if the chacing ship have a boat at her stern, shall take her up. If any make a ship to strike, he shall not enter her till the admiral come up.

The musketeers, divided into certain quarters of the ship, shall not deliver their shot but at such distances as their commander shall direct them. You shall take a special care for the keeping of the ship clean between the decks, to have your ordnance in order, and not cloyed with trunks and chests. Let those that have provision of victuals deliver it to the steward, and every man put his apparel in canvas cloakbags, except some few chests which do not pester the ship. Every one that useth any weapon of fire, be it musket or other piece, shall keep it clean; and if he be not able to amend it, being out of order, he shall presently acquaint his officer therewith, who shall command the armourer to amend it.

No man shall keep any feasting or drinking between meals, nor drink any healths on the ship's provision. Every captain, by his purser, steward, or other officer, shall take a weekly account how the victuals waste. The steward shall not deliver any candles to any private man, or to any private use.

Whosoever shall steal from his fellows either apparel or any thing else, shall be punished as a thief; or if any one steal any victuals, either by breaking into the hold, or otherwise, he shall receive the punishment of a thief and the murderer of his fellows.

There is no man shall strike any officer, be he captain, lieutenant, ensign, serjeant, corporal of the field, a quarter-master ; nor the master of any ship, master's mate, boatswain, or quarter-master ; I say, no man shall offer any violence to any of these, but the supreme officer to the inferior, in time of service, up-

on pain of death. No private man shall strike another, upon pain of receiving such punishment as a martial court shall think him worthy of.

No man shall play at cards or dice, either for his apparel or arms, upon pain of being disarmed and made a swabber. And whoever shall shew himself a coward upon any landing or otherwise, he shall be disarmed, and made a labourer and carrier of victuals for the rest.

No man shall land any men in any foreign parts without order from the general, the serjeant-major, or other chief officer, upon pain of death; and wheresoever we shall have cause to land, no man shall force any woman, be she Christian or heathen, upon pain of death: And you shall take especial care, when God shall suffer us to land in the Indies, not to eat any fruits unknown; such fruits as you do not find eaten by birds on the tree, or beasts under the tree, you shall avoid.

You shall not sleep on the ground, nor eat any new flesh till it be salted two or three hours, which otherwise will breed a most dangerous flux; so will the eating of over-fat hogs or turkies. You shall also have a great care that you swim not in any rivers but where you see the Indians swim, because most of the rivers are full of alligators. You shall not take any thing from any Indian by force; for from thenceforth we shall never be relieved; but you must use them with all courtesy. And for trading or exchanging with them, it must be done by one or two of every ship for all the rest, and the price to be directed by the cape-merchant; for otherwise all our commodities will be of small price, and greatly to our hindrance.

For other orders on the land we will establish them (when God shall send us thither) by general consent. In the meantime, I will value every man's honour according to their degree and valour, and taking care

for the service of God and prosperity of our enterprize.

When the admiral shall hang out a flag or ensign on the mizen-shrouds, you shall know it to be a flag of counsel to come aboard.

APOLOGY
FOR THE
LAST VOYAGE TO GUIANA.

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APOLOGY

FOR THE

LAST VOYAGE TO GUIANA.

SIR WALTER RALEGH landed at Plymouth, after his last fatal voyage to Guiana, in the end of June or beginning of July 1618, about a year from the time of his departure from that port. A proclamation had previously been issued by the king, strongly condemning his proceedings in Guiana ; and he was immediately put under arrest, and conveyed to London, under the custody of Sir Lewis Stukely. It was during the interval between his arrest and his commitment to the Tower, which took place on the 10th of August, that he wrote that powerful defence of his conduct which is known by the name of his *Apology*. It is said to have been presented to the king ; but it does not appear to have been printed till 1650, when it was annexed to a collection, called ‘ *Judicious and Select Essays, by Sir Walter Raleigh,*’ published by Humphrey Moseley, and dedicated to Carew Raleigh, Sir Walter’s son.

APOLOGY

FOR THE

LAST VOYAGE TO GUIANA,

IF the ill success of this enterprise of mine had been without example, I should have needed a large discourse, and many arguments for my justification. . But if the vain attempts of the greatest princes of Europe, both among themselves and against the great Turk, are in all modern histories left to every eye to peruse; it is not so strange that myself, being but a private man, and drawing after me the chains and fetters whereunto I have been thirteen years tied in the tower, (being unpardoned, and in disgrace with my sovereign lord,) have, by other mens errors, failed in the attempt I undertook.

For if that Charles the Fifth returned with unexampled loss, (I will not say dishonour,) from Algier in Africa; or if king Sebastian lost himself and his army in Barbary; if the invincible fleet and forces of Spain, in eighty eight, were beaten home by the Lord Charles Howard, admiral of England; if Mr Strozzi, the Count Brizack, the Count Vinnoso, and others, with a fleet of fifty-eight sail, and six thousand soldiers, encountered by far less numbers, could not defend the Terceras; (leaving to speak of a world of other attempts furnished by kings and princes,) if Sir Francis Drake, Sir Johh Hawkins, and Sir Thomas Baskerville, men for their experience and valour as eminent as England had any, strengthened with divers of her majesty's ships, and filled with sol-

diers at will,—could not possess themselves of the treasure they sought for, which, in their view was embarked in certain frigates at Puerto Rico, yet afterwards they were repulsed with fifty negroes upon the mountains of Vasques Numius, or Sierra de Capira, in their passage towards Panama; if Sir John Norris (though not by any fault of his) failed in the attempt of Lisbon, and returned with the loss, by sickness and otherwise, of eight thousand men,—what wonder is it but that mine, (which is the last,) being followed with a company of volunteers, who, for the most part, had neither seen the sea nor the wars, who, some forty gentlemen excepted, were the very scum of the world,—drunkards, blasphemers, and such others as their fathers, brothers, and friends, thought it an exceeding good gain to be discharged of them with the hazard of some thirty, forty, or fifty pounds, knowing that they could not have lived a whole year so cheap at home;—I say, what wonder is it, if I have failed, where I could neither be present myself, nor had any of the commanders, whom I most trusted, living or in state to supply my place?

Now, whereas it was bruited, both before and since my departure out of England, and by the most men believed, that I meant nothing less than to go to Guiana; but that being once at liberty, and in mine own power, having made my way with some foreign prince, I would turn pirate, and utterly forsake my country; my being at Guiana, my returning into England unpardoned, and my not taking the spoil of the subjects of any Christian prince, hath (I doubt not) destroyed that opinion.

But this is not all: For it hath been given out by an hypocritical thief, who was the first master of my ship, and by an ungrateful youth which waited upon me in my cabin, (though of honourable worthy parents,) and by others, that I carried with me out of England twenty-two thousand pieces of twenty-two shillings the piece, and therefore needed not,

or cared not, to discover any mine in Guiana, nor make any other attempt elsewhere; which report being carried secretly from one to another in my ship, (and so spread through all the ships in the fleet, which staid with me at Trinidad while our land forces were in Guiana,) had like to have been my utter overthrow in a most miserable fashion; for it was consulted, when I had taken my barge, and gone ashore, (either to discover or otherwise, as I often did,) that my ship should have set sail and left me there; where either I must have suffered famine, been eaten with wild beasts, or have fallen into the hands of the Spaniards and been flayed alive, as others of the English, which came thither but to trade only, had formerly been.

To this report of riches I make this protestation, that if it can be proved, either now or hereafter, that I had in the world, either in my keeping or in my power, either directly or indirectly, in trust or otherwise, above one hundred pieces when I departed London, of which I had left forty-five pieces with my wife, and fifty-five I carried with me, I acknowledge myself for a reprobate, a villain, a traitor to the king, and the most unworthy man that doth live, or ever hath lived, upon the earth.

Now, whereas the captains that left me in the Indies, and Captain Baily, that ran away from me at Lancerota, have, to excuse themselves, objected, for the first, that I lingered at Plymouth, when I might have gone thence, and lost a fair wind and time of the year, or to that effect,—it is strange, that men of fashion and gentlemen should so grossly belie their own knowledge, that, had not I lived nor returned to have made answer to this fiction, yet all that knew us in Plymouth, and all that we had to deal withal, knew the contrary. For after I had staid at the Isle of Wight divers days, the Thunder, commanded by Sir Warham St Leger, by the negligence of her master, was at lee in the Thames; and after I arrived

at Plymouth, Captain Pennington was not come then to the Isle of Wight; and being arrived there, and not able to redeem his bread from the bakers, he rode back to London to entreat help from my wife to pay for it; who having not so much money to serve his turn, she wrote to Mr Wood of Portsmouth, and gave him her word for thirty pounds, which she soon after paid him, without which (as Pennington himself protested to my wife) he had not been able to have gone the journey. Sir John Ferne I found there without all hope of being able to proceed, having neither men nor money, and in great want of other provision; insomuch as I furnished him, by my cousin Herbert, with a hundred pounds, having supplied himself in Wales with a hundred pounds before his coming to Plymouth, and procured him a third hundred pounds from the worthy and honest dean of Exeter, Dr Sutcliffe. Captain Whitney, whom I also staid for, had a third part of his victuals to provide; insomuch, as having no money to help him withal, I sold my plate in Plymouth to supply him. Baily I left at the Isle of Wight, whose arrival I also attended here some ten or twelve days, as I remember: And what should move Baily only to leave me, as he did, at the Canaries, from whence he might have departed with my love and leave, and at his return to do me all the wrong he could devise, I cannot conceive. He seemed to me from the beginning not to want any thing. He only desired of me some ordnance and some iron-bound cask, and I gave it him. I never gave him ill language, nor offered him the least unkindness to my knowledge. It is true, that I refused him a French shallop, which he took in the bay of Portugal, outward bound; and yet, after I had bought her of the French, and paid fifty crowns, ready money, for her, if Baily had then desired her, he might have had her. But to take any thing from the French, or from any other nation, I meant it not.

True it is, that as many things succeed both against reason and our best endeavours, so it is most commonly true that men are the cause of their own misery, as I was of mine, when I undertook my late enterprise without a pardon; for all my company having heard it avowed in England, before they went, that the commission I had was granted to a man who was *non ens* in law, so hath the want thereof taken from me both arms and actions; it gave boldness to every petty companion to spread rumours to my defamation, and the wounding of my reputation, in all places where I could not be present to make them knaves and liars.

It hath been secondly objected, that I put into Ireland, and spent much time there, taking care to revictual myself and none of the rest.

Certainly I had no purpose to see Ireland when I left Plymouth; but being encountered with a strong storm some eight leagues to the westward of Scilly, (in which Captain Chudley's pinnace was sunk, and Captain King thrust into Bristol,) I held it the office of a commander of many ships, and those of divers sailings and conditions, (of which some could hull and try, and some of them beat it up upon a tack, and others neither able to do the one nor the other) rather to take a port, and keep his fleet together, than either to endanger the loss of masts and yards, or to have it severed far asunder and to be thrust into divers places; for the attendance of meeting them again at the next rendezvous, would consume more time and victual, (and perchance the weak ships might be set upon, taken, or disordered) than could be spent by recovering a harbour, and attending the next change of wind.

That the dissevering of fleets hath been the overthrow of many actions, I could give many examples, were it not in every man's knowledge. In the last enterprise of worth undertaken by our English nation, with three squadrons of ships commanded by

the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Suffolk, and myself, where was also present the Earl of Southampton ; if we being storm-beaten in the bay of Alcassar, or Biscay, had had a port under our lee, that we might have kept our transporting ships with our men of war, we had in all likelihood both taken the Indian fleet and the Azores.

That we staid long in Ireland it is true ; but they must accuse the clouds and not me for our stay there, for I lost not a day of a good wind. There was not any captain of the fleet but had credit, or might have had, for a great deal of more victuals than we spent there ; and yet they had of me fifty beeves among them, and somewhat else.

For the third accusation, That I landed in hostile manner at Lancerota. Certainly Captain Baily had great want of matter, when he gave that for an excuse of his turning back. For I refer myself to Mr Barney, who I know will ever justify a truth ; to whom (when he came to me from Captain Baily to know whether he should land his men with the rest) I made this answer, that he might land them if it pleased him, or otherwise keep them aboard ; for I had agreed with the governor for a proportion of victual, which I hourly expected. And it is true, that the governor, being desirous to speak with me, with one gentleman with him, with their rapiers only, which I accepting, and taking with me Lieutenant Bradshaw, we agreed that we should send up an English factor, (whose ship did then ride in the road,) and that whatsoever the island could yield, should be delivered at a reasonable rate. I sent the English factor, according to our agreement ; but the governor put it off from one morning to another ; and in the end sent me word, that, except I would embark my men, which lay on the sea-side, the islanders were so jealous as they durst not sever themselves to make our provisions. I did so : but when the one half were gotten aboard, two of our centinels were forced ;

one slain; and the English factor sent to tell me that he had nothing for us, whom he still believed to be a fleet of the Turks, who had lately taken and destroyed Puerto Sancto. Hereupon all the companies would have marched toward the town and have sacked it; but I knew it would not only dislike his majesty, but that our merchants, having a continual trade with those islands, that their goods would have been staid; and among the rest, the poor Englishman, riding in the road, having all that he brought thither ashore, would have been utterly undone.

Hereof I complained to the governor of the Grand Canaries, whom I also desired that we might take water without any disturbance. But, instead of answer, when we landed some hundred men far from any habitation, and in a desert place of the island, where we found some fresh water, there ambush was laid, and one Fisher, of Sir John Fernes' ship, wounded to death; and more had been slain, had not Captain Thornhurst, and Mr Robert Hayman, my son's lieutenant, two exceeding valiant gentlemen, who first made head against them, seconded by Sir Warham St Leger and my son, with half a dozen more, made forty of them run away. From hence, because there was a scarcity of water, we sailed to Gomera, one of the strongest and best defenced places of all the islands, and the best port, the town being seated upon the very wash of the sea. At the first entrance of our ships they shot at us, and ours at them. But as soon as I myself recovered the harbour, and had commanded that there should be no more shooting, I sent a Spaniard ashore (taken in a bark which came from Cape Blanc) to tell the governor, that I had no purpose to make war with any of the Spanish king's subjects; and if any harm were done by our great ordnance to the town, it was his fault, which by shooting first gave the occasion. He sent me for answer, that he thought we had been the Turkish fleet which destroyed Puerto Sancto; but

being resolved by the messenger that we were Christians and English, and sought nothing but water, he would willingly afford us as much as we pleased to take, if he might be assured that we would not attempt his town-houses, nor destroy the gardens and fruits. I returned him answer, that I would give him my faith, and the word of the king of Great Britain, my sovereign lord; that the people of the town and island should not lose so much as one orange or a grape, without paying for it; for if any man of mine should injure them, I would hang him up in the market-street. Now that I kept my faith with him, and how much he held himself bound unto me, I have divers of his letters to shew, for he wrote unto me every day. And the countess, being of an English race, (a Stafford by mother, and of the house of Horn by the father,) sent me divers presents of fruits, sugar and rusk; to whom I returned (because I would not depart in her debt) things of greater value. The old earl, at my departure, wrote a letter to the Spanish ambassador here in England, how I behaved myself in those islands. There I discharged a bark of the Grand Canaries, taken by one of my pinnaces coming from Cape Blanc in Africa; and demanding of him what prejudice he had received by being taken, he told me that my men had eaten of his fish to the value of six ducats, for which I gave him eight.

From the Canaries, it is said, that I sailed to Cape de Verd, knowing it to be an infectious place, by reason whereof I lost so many of my men ere I recovered the Indies. The truth is, that I came no nearer to Cape de Verd than Bravo, which is one hundred and sixty leagues off. But had I taken it in my way, falling upon the coast, or any other part of Guiana, after the rains, there is as little danger of infection as in any other part of the world; as our English, that trade in those parts every year, do well know. There are few places in England, or in the world, near great rivers which run through low grounds, or

near morish or marsh grounds, but the people inhabiting near are at some time of the year subject to fevers; witness Woolwich in Kent, and all down the river on both sides. Other infection there is not found either in the Indies or in Africa, except it be when the easterly wind or breezes are kept off by some high mountains from the vallies, whereby the air, wanting motion, doth become exceeding unhealthy, as at Nombre de Dios, and elsewhere.

But as good success admits no examination, so the contrary allows of no excuse, how reasonable or just soever. Sir Francis Drake, Mr John Winter, and John Thomas, when they past the Straits of Magellan, met with a storm which drove Winter back, which thrust John Thomas upon the islands to the south, where he was cast away, and drove Sir Francis near a small island upon which the Spaniards landed their thieves and murderers from Baldivia. And he found there Philip an Indian, who told him where he was, and conducted him to Baldivia, where he took his first prize of treasure. And in that ship he found a pilot called John Grege, who guided him all that coast, in which he possessed himself of the rest. Which pilot, because he should not rob him of his reputation and knowledge in those parts (resisting the intreaties and tears of all his company) he set him ashore upon the island of Aegulus, that is Ali-gator, to be by them devoured. After which, passing by the East Indies, he returned into England; and notwithstanding the peace between us and Spain he enjoyed the riches he brought, and was never so much as called to an account for cutting off Doughty's head at Port St. Julian, having neither martial law nor other commission available. Mr Cavendish having passed all the coasts of Chili and Peru and not gotten a farthing, when he was without hope and ready to shape his course by the east homeward, met a ship which came from the Philippines at California, a thousand pounds to a nut-shell. These two in

these two voyages were the children of fortune and much honoured. But when Sir Francis Drake in his last attempt might have landed at Cruces, by the river of Chyagre, within eight miles of Panama, he notwithstanding set the troops on land at Number de Dios, and received the repulse aforesaid, and died for sorrow. The same success had Cavendish in his last passage toward the streights. I say that one and the same end they both had, viz. Drake and Cavendish, when chance had left them to the trial of their own virtues.

For the rest, I leave to all worthy and indifferent men to judge, by what neglect or error of mine the gold mine in Guiana, which I had formerly discovered was not found and enjoyed. For after we had refreshed ourselves in Caliana (otherwise in the first discovery called Port Howard) where we tarried for Captain Hastings, Captain Pigot, and Captain Snedal, and there recovered the most part of our sick men, I did embark six companies, of fifty to each company, in five ships; viz. in the Encounter, commanded by Captain Whitney; in the Confidence, by Captain Wolaston; in two fly-boats of my own, commanded by Captain Samuel King, and Captain Robert Smith; and in a carvel. Which companies had for their leaders Captain Charles Parker, Captain North, my son, Captain Thornhurst, Captain Penington's Lieutenant, and Captain Chudley's Lieutenant (Prideux.)

At the Triangle Island I embarked the companies for Orinoco, between which and Caliana I lay aground twenty-four hours; and if it had not been fair weather we had never come off the coast, having not above two fathom and a half of water. Eight leagues off from whence, I directed them for the river of Surniama, the best port of all that tract of land between the river Amazons and Orinoco. There I gave them order to trim their boats and barges, and by the Indians of that place to understand

the state of the Spaniards in Orinoco, and whether they had replanted or strengthened themselves upon the entrances or elsewhere: And if they found any Indians there, to send in the little fly-boat or the Carvel into the river of Dissebecke, where they should not fail to find pilots for Orinoco. For with our great ships we durst not approach the coast; we having been all of us a-ground, and in danger of leaving our bands upon the shoals, before we recovered the Triangle Island as aforesaid. The biggest ship that could enter the river was the Encounter, who might be brought to eleven foot. The depth of the water upon the bar we could never understand, neither by Keymis, who was the first of any nation that had entered the main mouth of Orinoco, nor by any other of the masters or mariners of our fleet, which had traded there ten or twelve years for tobacco. For the Chudley, when she came near the entrance, drawing but twelve foot, found herself in danger, and bore up for Trinidad.

Now, whereas some of my friends have been unsatisfied why I myself had not gone up with the companies I sent, I desire hereby to give them satisfaction: That beside my want of health and strength, (having not recovered my long and dangerous sickness, but was again fallen into a relapse), my ship shoaled and laid a-ground at seventeen foot water seven leagues off the shore; so as the master nor any of my company durst adventure to come near it, much less to fall between the shoals on the south side of the river's side, and sands on the north side called Puncto Anegado,—one of the most dangerous places in all the Indies. It was therefore resolved by us all, that the five greater ships should ride at Puncto Gallo in Trinidad, and the five lesser should enter the river. For if Whitney and Wollaston at eleven foot lay a-ground three days in passing up, in what case had I been, which drew seventeen foot, a heavier ship, and charged with forty pieces of ordnance? Beside this

impossibility, neither would my son nor the rest of the captains and gentlemen have adventured themselves up the river, (having but one month's victuals, and being thrust together a hundred of them in a small fly-boat,) had not I assured them that I would stay for them at Trinidad; and that no force should drive me thence, except I were sunk in the sea, or set on fire by the Spanish galleons: for that they would have adventured themselves upon any other man's word or resolution, it were ridiculous to believe.

Having in this sort resolved upon our enterprise, and having given instructions how they should proceed before and after their entrance into Orinoco, Keymis having undertaken to discover the mine with six or eight persons in Sir John Ferne's shallop, I, better bethinking myself, and misliking his determination, gave him this order, viz.

“ Keymis—Whereas you were resolved after your arrival into Orinoco to pass to the mine with my cousin Herbert and six musketeers, and to that end you desired to have Sir John Ferne's shallop,—I do not allow of that course; because you cannot land so secretly but that some Indians on the river side may discover you, who giving knowledge of your passage to the Spaniards, you may be cut off before you can recover your boat. I do therefore advise you to suffer the captains and the companies of the English to pass up to the westward of the mountain Aio, from whence you have no less than three miles to the mine; and to lodge and encamp between the Spanish town and you, if there be any town near it; that being so secured you may make trial what depth and breadth the mine holds, and whether or no it answer our hopes. And if you find it royal, and the Spaniards begin to war upon you, then let the serjeant-major repel them if it be in his power, and drive them as far as he can. But if you find that the mine be not so rich as it may persuade the holding of it, and

draw on a second supply,—then shall you bring but a basket or two to satisfy his majesty that my design was not imaginary but true, though not answerable to his majesty's expectation for the quantity, of which I never gave assurance, nor could.

On the other side, if you shall find that any great number of soldiers be newly sent into Orinoco, (as the Cacique of Caliana told us that there were,) and that the passages be already forced, so that without manifest peril of my son, yourself, and other captains, you cannot pass toward the mine,—then be well advised how you land; for I know (a few gentlemen excepted) what a scum of men you have; and I would not for all the world receive a blow from the Spaniards to the dishonour of our nation. I myself for my weakness cannot be present, neither will the company land except I stay with the ships; the galleons of Spain being daily expected. Piggot the serjeant-major is dead; Sir Warham my lieutenant without hope of life; and my nephew, your serjeant-major now, but a young man. It is therefore on your judgment that I rely, whom I trust God will direct for the best.

Let me hear from you as soon as you can. You shall find me at Puncto Gallo; dead or alive; and if you find not my ships there, yet you shall find their ashes; for I will fire with the galleons if it come to extremity, but run away I will never."

That these my instructions were not followed, was not my fault. But it seems that the serjeant-major, Keymis, and the rest, were by accident forced to change their first resolution; and that finding a Spanish town, or rather a village, set up twenty miles distant from the place where Antonio Berreo (the first governor by me taken in my first discovery) had attempted to plant, viz. some two leagues to the westward of the mine, they agreed to land and encamp between the mine and the town, which they

did not suspect to be so near them as it was; and meaning to rest themselves on the river side till the next day, they were in the night set upon and charged by the Spaniards; which being unlooked for, the common sort of them were so amazed, as had not the captains and some other valiant gentlemen made a head and encouraged the rest, they had all been broken and cut in pieces. To repel this force, putting themselves in order, they charged the Spaniards, and following them upon their retreat, they were ready to enter the town ere they knew where they were; and being then charged again by the governor, and four or five captains which led their companies, my son, not tarrying for my musketeers, ran up in the head of a company of pikes, where he was first shot; and pressing upon a Spanish captain, called Erinetta, with his sword, Erinetta, taking the small end of his musket in his hand, struck him on the head with the stock and felled him; whom again John Plesington, my son's serjeant, thrust through with his halbert. At which time also, the governor Diego Palomeque and the rest of the Spanish captains being slain, and their companies divided, they betook themselves into a house or hold adjoining to the market-place, whereby they slew and wounded the English at their pleasure; so as we had no way to save ourselves but by firing those houses adjoining; which done, all the Spaniards ran into the bordering woods and hills, keeping the English still waking with perpetual alarms.

The town, such as it was, being in this sort possessed, Keymis prepared to discover the mine; which at this time he was resolved to do, as appeareth by his letter to me of his own hand-writing, hereafter inserted. He took with him Captain Thornhurst, Master William Herbert, Sir John Hambden, and others. But at his first approach near the bank where he meant to land, he received from the wood a volley of shot, which slew two of his company, hurt

six others, and wounded Captain Thornhurst in the head, of the which he languished three months after.

Keymis's letter, dated the 8th of January, from Orinoco.

‘ALL things that appertain to human condition, in that proper nature and sense, which of fate and necessity belongeth unto them, being now over with your son, make me choose rather with grief to let you know from me this certain truth, than uncertainties from others; which is, viz. That had not his extraordinary valour and forwardness, (which with constant vigour of mind, being in the hands of death, his last breath expressed in these words, *Lord have mercy upon me and prosper your enterprise*), led them all on, when some began to pause and recoil shamefully, this action had neither been attempted as it was, nor performed as it is, with this surviving honour.

This Indian Pilot whom I have sent, if there be occasion to use his service in any thing, will prove sufficient and trusty. Peter Andrews, whom I have sent with him, can better certify your lordship of the state of the town, the plenty, the condition of our men, &c. than I can write the same.

We have the governor's servant prisoner, that waited on him in his bed-chamber, and knows all things that concerned his master. We find there are four refiners' houses in the town; the best houses of the town. I have not seen one piece of coin or bullion, neither gold or silver; a small deal of plate only excepted.

Captain Whitney and Wollaston are but now come to us; and now I purpose (God willing) without delay to visit the mine, which is not eight miles from the town. Sooner I could not go, by reason of the murmurings, the discords and vexations, wherewith the serjeant-major is perpetually tormented and tired, having no man to assist him but myself only. Things are now in some reasonable order; and so soon as I

have made trial of the mine, I will seek to come to your lordship by the way of the river Macario; by which river I have appointed Peter Andrews to go and to search the channels; that, if it be possible, our ships may shorten the course for Trinidad, when time serves, by those passages. I have sent your lordship a parcel of scattered papers, (I reserve a cart-load), one roll of tobacco, one tortoise, and some oranges and lemons. Praying God to give you strength and health of body, and a mind armed against all extremities, I rest ever to be commanded this 8th of January 1617-18.—Your Lordship's,

KEYMIS.

Now it seemeth that the death of my son, fearing also (as he told me when he came to Trinidad) that I was either dead of my first sickness, or that the news of my son's death would have hastened my end, made him resolve not to open the mine. To the which he added for excuse, (and I think it was true,) that the Spaniards being gone off in a whole body, lay in the woods between the mine and their passage; and it was impossible, except they had been beaten out of the country, to pass up the woody and craggy hills, without the loss of those commanders which should have led them; who, had they been slain, the rest would easily enough have been cut in pieces in their retreat. For being in possession of the town, which they guarded with the greatest part of three companies, they had yet their hands full to defend themselves from firing, and the daily and nightly alarms wherewith they were vexed. He also gave forth the excuse that it was impossible to lodge any companies at the mine for want of victuals; which from the town they were not able to carry up the mountain, their companies being divided. He therefore, as he told me, thinking it a greater error to discover it to the Spaniards, themselves neither being able to work it nor possess it, than to excuse himself to the company, said that he could not find it.

All which his fancies I rejected, and before divers of the gentlemen disavowed his ignorance; for I told him that a blind man might find it, by the marks which himself had set down under his hand: then I told him that his care of losing so many men in passing through the woods was but feigned; for after my son was slain, I knew that he had no care at all of any man surviving; and therefore had he brought to the king but a hundred weight of the ore, though with the loss of one hundred men, he had given his majesty satisfaction, preserved my reputation, and given our nation encouragement to have returned this next year with greater force, and to have held the country for his majesty, to whom it belonged; and of which himself had given the testimony,—that besides the excellent air, pleasantness, healthfulness, and riches, it hath plenty of corn, fruits, fish, fowl, wild and tame, beeves, horses, sheep, hogs, deers, coneys, hares, tortoises, armadillos, wanaes, oils, honey, wax, potatoes, sugar, canes, medicaments, balsamum, simples, gums, and what not: but seeing he had followed his own advice, and not mine, I should be forced to leave him to the arguments; with the which if he could satisfy his majesty and the state, I should be glad of it; though for my part he must excuse me to justify it, that he, if it had pleased him, though with some loss of men, might have gone directly to the place. With that he seemed greatly discontent, and so he continued divers days. Afterward he came to me in my cabin, and shewed me a letter which he had written to the Earl of Arundel, to whom he excused himself for not discovering of the mine; using the same arguments, and many others, which he had done before, and prayed me to allow of his apology. But I told him that he had undone me by his obstinacy, and that I would not favour or colour in any sort his former folly. He then asked me, whether that were my resolution? I answered, that it was. He then

replied in these words, *I know not then, Sir, what course to take*; and went out of my cabin into his own, in which he was no sooner entered but I heard a pistol go off. I sent up, (not suspecting any such thing as the killing of himself,) to know who shot a pistol; Keymis himself made answer, lying on his bed, that he had shot it off, because it had been long charged; with which I was satisfied. Some half hour after this, the boy going into his cabin, found him dead, having a long knife thrust under his left pap through his heart, and his pistol lying by him, with which it appeared that he had shot himself; but the bullet lighting upon a rib, had but broken the rib, and went no further. Now he that knew Keymis, did also know, that he was of that obstinate resolution, and a man so far from caring to please or satisfy any man but himself, as no man's opinion, from the greatest to the least, could have persuaded him to have laid violent hands on himself. Neither would he have done it when he did it, could he have said unto me, that he was ignorant of that place, and knew no such mine; for what cause had I then to have rejected his excuses, or to have laid his obstinacy to his charge?

Thus much I have added, because there are some puppies which have given it out that Keymis slew himself because he had seduced so many gentlemen and others with an imaginary mine. But as his letter to me of the 8th of January proves, that he was then resolved to open it, so to take off all these kinds of objections, let Captain Charles Parker, captain George Raleigh, and Captain King, all living, and in England, be put to their oaths, whether or no Keymis did not confess to them coming down the river, at a place where they cast anchor, that he could from that place have gone to the mine in two hours. I say then, that if the opening of the mine had been at that time to any purpose, or had they had any victuals left then to bring them away, or had

they not been hastened by seeing the King of Spain's letters before they came to my hands, (which I am assured Keymis had seen, who delivered them to me; whereof one of them was dated at Madrid the 19th of March, before I left the river Thames, and with it three other dispatches, with a commission for the strengthening of Orinoco with one hundred and fifty soldiers, which should have come down the river from the new kingdom of Granada; and another hundred and fifty from Puerto Rico, with ten pieces of ordnance, which should have come up the river from the entrance; by which two troops they might have been enclosed;)—I say, had not the rest seen those dispatches, and that having stayed in the river above two months, they feared the hourly arrival of those forces, why had they not constrained Keymis to have brought them to the mine, being, as himself confesses, within two hours march?

Again, had the companies commanders but pinched the governor's man whom they had in their possession, he could have told them of two or three gold mines and a silver mine, not above four miles from the town, and given them the names of their possessors, with the reason why they forbore to work them at that time, and when they left off from working them; which they did, as well because they wanted negroes, as because they feared lest the English, French, or Dutch would have forced them from those, being once thoroughly opened, having not sufficient strength to defend themselves. But to this, I have heard it said, since my return, that the governor's man was by me persuaded, being in my power, to say that such mines there were, when indeed there was no such thing. Certainly they were but silly fools, that discovered this subtlety of mine, who had not yet, by the long calenture that weakened me, lost all my wits; which I must have done, if I had left my reputation in trust with a mulatto, who, for a pot or two of wine, for a dozen of hatchets, or a gay suit of

apparel, would have confessed that I had taught him to speak of mines that were not in *rerum natura*. No, I protest before the Majesty of God, that without any other arguments, or promise of mine, than well usage, he hath discovered to me the way to five or six of the richest mines which the Spaniards have, and from whence all the mass of gold that comes into Spain in effect is drawn.

Lastly, when the ships were come down the river, as far as Carapana's country, (who was one of the natural lords, and one that reserved that part of Guiana to her majesty,) hearing that the English had abandoned St Thomas, and left no force in the country, which he hoped they would have done, he sent a great canoe, with store of fruits and provisions to the captains; and by one of his men which spake Spanish, having, as it seemed, been long in their hands, he offered them a rich gold mine in his own country, knowing it to be the best argument to persuade their stay; and if it pleased them to send up any one of the English to view it, he would leave sufficient pledges for his safe return. Mr Leake, Mr Molineux, and others offered themselves; which when the greater part refused, (I know not by what reason led,) he sent again (leaving one of his men still aboard) to entreat them to tarry but two days; and he himself would come to them, and bring them a sample of the ore. For he was an exceeding old man when I was first in the country some twenty-four years since. Which being also neglected, and the ships under sail, he, notwithstanding, sent a boat after them to the very mouth of the river, in hope to persuade them. That this is true, witness Captain Parker, Captain Leake, Mr Stresham, Mr Maudict, Mr Molineux, Mr Robert Hammon, Mr Nicholas, Captain King, Peter Andrews, and I know not how many others.

But, to set aside this offer also, there hath not been wanting an argument, though a foolish one; which was, that the Spaniards had employ-

ed the Indians with a purpose to betray our men. But this treason had been easily prevented, if they had staid the old man's coming; who would have brought them the gold ore aboard their ships. And what purpose could there be of treason, when the Guianians offered to leave pledges six for one? Yea, one of the Indians, which the English had aboard them, whom they found in fetters when they took the town of St Thomas, could have told them, that the Cacique, which sent unto them to shew them the gold mine in his country, was unconquered, and an enemy to the Spaniard; and could also have assured them, that this Cacique had gold mines in his country.

I say, then, that if they would neither force Keymis to go to the mine, when he was, by his own confession, within two hours march of it, to examine from whence these two ingots of gold, which they brought me, were taken; (which they found laid by for king's *quinto*, or fifth-part;) or those small pieces of silver, which had the same marks and stamps;—if they refused to send any one of the fleet into the country to see the mines which the Cacique Carapana offered them;—if they would not vouchsafe to stay two days for the coming of Carapana himself, who would have brought them a sample of the gold ore;—I say, that there is no reason to lay it to my charge, that I carried them with a pretence of gold, when neither Keymis nor myself knew of any in those parts. If it had been to have gotten my liberty, why did I not keep my liberty when I had it? Nay, why did I put my life in manifest peril to forego it? If I had had a purpose to have turned pirate, why did I oppose myself against the greatest number of my company, and was thereby in danger to be slain or cast into the sea, because I refused it?

A strange fancy had it been in me to have persuaded my son, whom I have lost, and to have persuaded my wife to have adventured the eight thou-

sand pounds which his majesty gave them for Sherbone ; and when that was spent, to persuade my wife to sell her house at Mitcham, in hope of enriching them by the mines of Guiana—if I myself had not seen them with my own eyes. For, being old and weakly, thirteen years in prison, and not used to the air, to travel, and to watching ; (it being ten to one that I should ever have returned ; and of which, by reason of my violent sickness, and the long continuance thereof, no man had any hope ;)—what madness could have made me undertake this journey, but the assurance of the mine ; thereby to have done his majesty service, to have bettered my country by the trade, and to have restored my wife and children their estates they had lost, for which I have refused all other ways or means ? For that I had no purpose to have changed my master and my country, my return in the state I did return, may satisfy every honest and indifferent man.

An unfortunate man I am, (and it is to me a greater loss than all I have lost,) that it pleaseth his majesty to be offended for the burning of a Spanish town in Guiana ; of which these parts bordering the river of Orinoco, and to the south as far as the Amazons, doth, by the law of nations, belong to the crown of England ; as his majesty was well resolved when I prepared to go thither, otherwise his majesty would not have given once leave to have landed there. For I set it down under my hand that I intended that enterprise, and nothing else ; and that I meant to enter the country by the river Orinoco. And it was not held to be a breach of the peace, neither by the state here nor the Spanish ambassador, who knew it as well as I, that I pretended the journey of Guiana ; which he always held to be a pretence. For he said it to Mr Secretary Winwood, and to others of my lords, that if I meant to sail to Guiana, and had no intent to invade any part of his majesty's West Indies nor his fleets, I should not need to strengthen

myself as I did, for I should work any mine there without any disturbance and in peace. To which I made answer, That I had set it under my hand to his majesty that I had no other purpose, nor meant to undertake any thing else. But, for the rest, if Sir John Hawkins, in his journey to St John de Loa, (notwithstanding that he had leave of the Spanish king to trade in all parts of the West Indies, (and having the Plate fleet in his power, did not take out of it one ounce of silver, but kept his faith and promise in all places,) was set upon by Don Henrico de Martines, whom he suffered (to save him from perishing) to enter the port upon Martines' faith, and interchanged pledges delivered, had the Jesus of Lubec, a ship of her majesty's, of a thousand tons, burnt;—had his men slain which he left on the land; lost his ordnance, and all the treasure which he had got by trade; what reason had I to go unarmed upon the ambassador's promises?—whose words and thoughts, that they were not one, it hath well appeared since then; as well by the forces which he persuaded his master to send to Guiana to encounter me, and cut me off there, as by his persecuting me since my return; who have neither invaded his majesty's Indies nor his fleet, whereof he stood in doubt.

True it is, that the Spaniards cannot endure that the English nation should look upon any part of America; being above a fourth part of the whole known world, and the hundredth part neither possessed by the Spaniards nor to them known; as Acosta, the Jesuit, in his description of the West Indies, doth confess, and well knows to be true. No, though the king of Spain can pretend no other title to all that he hath not conquered than the pope's donation. For, from the straits of Magellan to the river of Plate, being a greater territory than all that the Spaniards possess in Peru or Chili; and from Cape Saint Augustine to Trinidad, being a greater extent of land than all which he possesses in New

Spain or elsewhere,—they have not one foot of ground in their possession, neither, for the greatest part of it, so much as in their own knowledge.

In Orinoco they have lately set up a wooden town and made a kind of a fort ; but they have never been able either to conquer the Guianians or to reconcile them. But the Guianians, before their planting there, did willingly resign all that territory to her majesty, who, by me, promised to receive them and defend them against the Spaniard. And though I were a prisoner for thirteen years, yet I was at the charge every year, or every second year, to send unto them to keep them in hope of being relieved. And, as I have said before, the greatest of the natural lords did offer us a rich mine of gold in his own country, in hope to hold us there. And if this usurped possession of the Spaniards be a sufficient bar to his majesty's right, and that thereby the king of Spain calls himself king of Guiana, why might he not as well call himself duke of Brittany, because he took possession of Blevet and built a fort there; and call himself king of Ireland, because he took possession at Smerwick, and built a fort there ?

If the ambassador had protested to his majesty, that my going to Guiana before I went would be a breach to the peace, I am persuaded that his majesty, if he had not been resolved that Guiana had been his, would have staid me. But if it be thought to be a breach of peace,—not the going thither, (for that cannot be, because I had no other intent, and went with leave,) but the taking and burning of a Spanish town in the country;—certainly, if the country be the king of Spain's, it had been no less a breach of peace to have wrought any mine of his, and to have robbed him of his gold, than it is now called a breach of peace to take a town of his in Guiana and burn it. And with as good reason might I have been called a thief and a robber of the king of Spain, if the country be not his majesty's, as I am now pursued

for the invasion ; for, either the country is the king of Spain's or the king's ; if it be the king's, I have not then offended ; if it be not the king's, I must have perished, if I had but taken gold out of the mines there, though I had found no Spaniards in the country.

For conclusion : If we had had any peace with the Spaniards in those parts of the world,—why did even those Spaniards, which were now encountered in Guiana, tie six-and-thirty Englishmen out of Mr Hall's ship of London and mine, back to back, and cut their throats, after they had traded with them a whole month, and came to them ashore, having not so much as a sword, or any other weapon, among them all ? And if the Spaniard to our complaints made answer, that there was nothing in the treaty against our trading in the Indies, but that we might trade at our peril ; I trust in God, that the word peril shall ever be construed to be indifferent to both nations ; otherwise we must for ever abandon the Indies, and lose all our knowledge and our pilotage of that part of the world. If we have no other peace than this, how can there be a breach of peace ; since the Spaniards, with all nations, and all nations with them, may trade upon their guard.

The readiest way that the Spanish ambassador could have taken to have staid me from going to Guiana, had been, to have discovered the great practices which I had with his master against the king my sovereign lord, in the first year of his majesty's reign of Great Britain, for which I lost my estate and lay thirteen years in the tower of London ; and not to urge my offences in Guiana, to which his master hath no title other than his sword ; with which, to this day, he hath not conquered the least of these nations, and against whom, contrary to the Catholic profession, his captains have entertained, and do entertain whole nations of Cannibals. For in a letter of the governors to the King of Spain,

of the eighth of July, he not only complaineth that the Guianians are in arms against him, but that even those Indians, which under their noses live, do in despite of all the king's edicts trade with *Los Flamingos et Angleses Enemigos*, with the Flemish and English enemies; never once naming the English nation but with the epithet of an enemy.

But in truth the Spanish ambassador hath complained against me to no other end, than to prevent my complaints against the Spaniards; when, landing my men in a territory appertaining to the crown of England, they were invaded and slain before any violence offered to the Spaniards; and I hope that the ambassador doth not esteem us for so wretched and miserable a people, as to offer our throats to their swords without any manner of resistance. Howsoever, I have said it already, and I will say it again, that if Guiana be not his majesty's, the working of a mine there, and the taking of a town there, had been equally perilous; for by doing the one, I had robbed the King of Spain, and been a thief; and by the other, a disturber or breaker of the peace.

END OF VOLUME SIXTH.

John Moir, Printer.

20/1/18

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